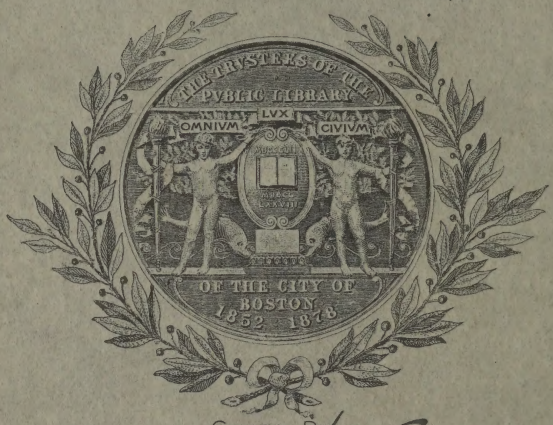
No. 4265.620




GIVEN BY
Univ. of Penn.

8 MAY 4
JAN 6
JC JAN 4

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

---

4265.620

# The Changing Race Relationship in the Border and Northern States

BY

HANNIBAL GERALD DUNCAN, A. M., TH. D.

PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY
SIMMONS COLLEGE.

A THESIS

PRESENTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
1922

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

---

# The Changing Race Relationship in the Border and Northern States

4265.620

BY

HANNIBAL GERALD DUNCAN, A. M., TH. D.

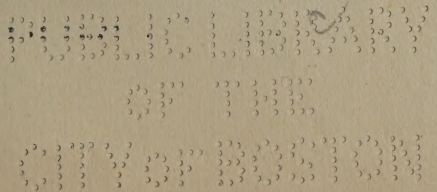
PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY
SIMMONS COLLEGE.

A THESIS

PRESENTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

1412

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
1922



University of Pennsylvania
August 11, 1922

PRESS OF
INTELLIGENCER PRINTING COMPANY
LANCASTER, PENNA.

PUBLIC LIBRARY
OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON

# TABLE OF CONTENTS


| Chapter | | Page |
|---|---|---|
| | PREFACE | 3 |
| I. | MIGRATION | 5 |
| | 1. Number | 5 |
| | 2. Type | 14 |
| | 3. Causes | 19 |
| II. | SEGREGATION IN CITIES AND IN THE COUNTRY | 22 |
| | 1. By general growth | 22 |
| | 2. By law | 26 |
| | 3. In the country | 33 |
| III. | SEGREGATION IN INSTITUTIONS OF LEARNING | 35 |
| | 1. Elementary and high schools | 37 |
| | 2. Business and trade schools | 41 |
| | 3. Colleges and universities | 42 |
| | 4. Hospitals, reformatories, and asylums | 47 |
| IV. | RACE DISTINCTIONS IN PLACES OF PUBLIC ACCOMMODATION | 55 |
| | 1. Railroads and street cars | 55 |
| | 2. Hotels and restaurants | 62 |
| | 3. Theatres and motion pictures shows | 64 |
| | 4. Barbershops and bootblack stands | 66 |
| | 5. Skating-rinks and pool-rooms | 68 |
| | 6. Parks | 68 |
| V. | RACE DISTINCTION IN THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL WORLD | 71 |
| | 1. Professional and business men | 72 |
| | 2. Skilled and unskilled laborers | 77 |
| | 3. Office holders, voters, and the courts | 85 |
| VI. | SEX RELATIONSHIP AND CRIME | 90 |
| | 1. Interracial marriage | 91 |
| | 2. Mulattoes | 94 |
| | 3. Crime, riots, and lynchings | 98 |
| VII. | RELIGIOUS RELATIONSHIP | 106 |
| | 1. In churches | 108 |
| | 2. In Young Men's Christian Associations | 114 |
| VIII. | GENERAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS | 116 |
| | BIBLIOGRAPHY | 124 |

## PREFACE

Some twenty-five years ago Henry Grady was invited to deliver an address in Boston on the New South. On his way to Boston he stopped for a day in New York City, where he met a staunch Southern friend, who asked, with interest, what he would say to the people in Boston about the South. Grady replied: "For the life of me, I don't know. I can think of a score of things which, if I do not say, the people of Georgia will lynch me when I return to that State, and which, if I do say, the people of Boston will skin me alive before I can leave town." I suppose every one who has spoken or written anything on the Negro question has felt himself in somewhat the same predicament.

Six years ago I began the study of the Negro problem. Since that time I have tried to take advantage of the opportunities afforded me to gain a correct and sane view of the problem. After the subject of this thesis came to my mind I went to several large public libraries and read everything I could find on the Negro problem. Then I traveled several thousand miles, going to a number of the largest cities and towns to investigate the real race relationship. In addition I have written over a hundred letters to authors, writers, social workers, investigators, and other public men and women who are in a position to give accurate information, many of whom have written me the results of their investigations on different points and their opinions, etc., for all of which I am indeed grateful.

My purpose in writing my thesis on this subject is primarily to show that the Northern white people have lost their war-time sentiment for the Negro race, and are becoming more hostile to his presence and less interested in his welfare; and secondarily, to show that the Southern white people have lost some of their war-time sentiment and are becoming more interested in the uplift and welfare of the Negro race.

I purposed not to go below the Southern Border States, nor into the Western States, but I have quite often had to overstep my boundary. So many boards, conferences, conventions, etc., are designated as Southern, Northern, and Western, which

boundaries cut some sections and States in twain, and do all their business in one central body, that I have been forced to go over my boundary. Then I have occasionally referred to some specific thing out of my boundary to draw a comparison or to bring out more clearly some point under consideration.

I do not think I have written a mere *tu quoque* argument. Such a puerile performance, I fear, would be perilous for me. I did not intend to write a defence of the South and a condemnation of the North, nor *vice versa*. I have written of conditions just as I have found them, and I have expressed my views frankly about conditions which the data I have collected sustain.

HANNIBAL GERALD DUNCAN

Moravian Falls, N. C., September, 1919.

## CHAPTER I

## MIGRATION

We hear and read much to-day about the exodus of Negroes from the South into the North, but few seem to have any definite idea of the extent and scope of this migration or the causes that bring it about. Some seem to think there is no undue exodus, while others have the idea that it is much larger than it really is.

In this chapter I shall endeavor to find out something of the number of Negroes who are migrating, the type, and the causes of their migration. I shall have to deal mostly with statistics, tables, etc. As every one who has dealt with statistics knows, we can not rely upon them to prove every point. So do those who have studied the statistics of the Negro know that some reports relating to the per cent. of increase of the Negro can not be wholly trusted. When the census report of 1900 came out, experts and students of Negro census were greatly baffled. They could not understand why there should be such a fluctuation in the Negro population, seemingly without a cause. The truth was, as they later decided, that in 1890 census taking had been badly done, especially in the South. In all probability, the rate of Negro increase between 1880 and 1890 was about 16 per cent. rather than 13.5 per cent.; and between 1890 and 1900, under 15 per cent. rather than 18 per cent. as reported. However this may be, I feel that this would not make any material change in the kind of work I am doing, as these mistakes were chiefly, if not wholly, in the "Negro States" and have little or nothing to do with the Border and Northern States. So I feel that we can very satisfactorily rely upon the statistics that I shall use in this chapter; and in this chapter I hope to lay the basis for some of the conclusions reached in other chapters.

1. Let us try to find out something about the number of Negroes who are migrating and whether they are migrating from the South to the North, or from the North to the South.

TABLE I

PERCENTAGE OF ABSOLUTE INCREASE OF RACIAL ELEMENTS, 1900–1910.[1]

| Cities | Native White of Native Parents | Native White of Foreign Parents | Foreign Born | Negro |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| New York | 25.0 | 32.0 | 52.1 | 51.2 |
| Chicago | 25.6 | 25.3 | 18.1 | 46.3 |
| Philadelphia | 11.9 | 19.9 | 30.2 | 34.9 |
| St. Louis | 42.6 | 3.2 | 13.2 | 23.8 |
| Pittsburg | 19.6 | 14.0 | 22.3 | 25.3 |
| Kansas City | 62.9 | 36.5 | 38.5 | 34.1 |
| Indianapolis | 54.0 | 8.0 | 15.8 | 37.5 |
| Cincinnati | 36.3 | 5.7 | 1.8 | 33.7 |
| Boston | 8.0 | 24.2 | 23.4 | 16.9 |

In the above table I have taken a few of the largest cities of the North to find out the increase of the racial elements in those cities for the decade ending 1910. In it we find that the Negro element has increased in New York City next to the foreign born; in Philadelphia, Chicago, and Pittsburg it has gone far ahead of any of the other racial elements. In St. Louis, Indianapolis, and Cincinnati it comes next to the native whites, and in Kansas City, alone, it falls to the bottom of the list. Thus we find the Northern cities of the metropolitan class showing a percentage in the absolute increase in the Negro population varying from 51.2% to 16.9%, New York standing at the top and Boston at the bottom.

In table II, we find a steady increase in the percentage of Negroes in the total population in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Jersey City, and Columbus. In Boston, Cleveland, Baltimore, Buffalo, Kansas City, Indianapolis, Louisville, Memphis, Wilmington, and Little Rock we find a higher percentage of Negroes in 1900 than in either 1910 or 1890. Newark shows no change for the last two decades. So we may say in the last named cities there is no indication of a rise in the percentage of Negroes, but a decrease for the last decade is noted in all except Newark. When we turn to Washington and Richmond, two cities which have been noted for their Negro population, we find a steady decrease in the percentage of Negroes. It is probable that the decrease in the last two cities was due to migration. It seems plausible that these cities, situated as they are, would furnish many Negroes for the North. The great fluctuations in some of the cities shows the need of local study, which alone can determine the conditions and the causes of the fluctuations.

[1] Census for 1900–1910.

## TABLE II

PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES IN TOTAL POPULATION IN THE LARGEST CITIES OF THE BORDER AND NORTHERN STATES FROM 1890 TO 1910

| | Population 1910 | | | | | Population 1900 | | | | | Population 1890 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Negro | | | | | Negro | | | | | Negro | |
| | Total | Total | Males | Females | Per cent. | Total | Total | Males | Females | Per cent. | Total | Total | Per cent. |
| New York | 4,766,883 | 91,709 | 42,143 | 49,566 | 1.9 | 3,437,202 | 60,666 | 27,132 | 33,534 | 1.8 | 2,321,644 | 33,888 | 1.5 |
| Chicago | 2,185,283 | 44,103 | 22,685 | 21,418 | 2.0 | 1,698,575 | 30,150 | 16,073 | 14,077 | 1.8 | 1,099,850 | 14,271 | 1.3 |
| Philadelphia | 1,549,008 | 84,459 | 39,431 | 45,028 | 5.5 | 1,293,697 | 62,613 | 28,940 | 33,673 | 4.8 | 1,046,964 | 39,371 | 3.7 |
| St. Louis | 687,029 | 43,960 | 22,168 | 21,792 | 6.4 | 575,238 | 35,516 | 17,496 | 18,020 | 6.2 | 451,770 | 26,865 | 5.9 |
| Boston | 670,585 | 13,564 | 6,664 | 6,900 | 2.0 | 560,892 | 11,591 | 5,904 | 5,687 | 2.1 | 448,477 | 8,125 | 1.8 |
| Cleveland | 560,663 | 8,448 | 4,341 | 4,107 | 1.5 | 381,768 | 5,988 | 3,177 | 2,811 | 1.6 | 261,353 | 2,989 | 1.1 |
| Baltimore | 558,485 | 84,747 | 39,054 | 45,695 | 15.2 | 508,957 | 79,258 | 35,063 | 44,195 | 15.6 | 434,439 | 67,104 | 15.4 |
| Pittsburg | 533,905 | 25,623 | 13,351 | 12,272 | 4.8 | 321,616 | 17,040 | 9,427 | 7,613 | 4.5 | 238,617 | 7,850 | 3.2 |
| Buffalo | 423,715 | 1,773 | 933 | 840 | 0.4 | 352,387 | 1,698 | 899 | 799 | 0.5 | 255,664 | 1,118 | 0.4 |
| Cincinnati | 363,591 | 19,639 | 9,905 | 9,734 | 5.4 | 325,902 | 14,482 | 7,156 | 7,326 | 4.4 | 296,908 | 11,655 | 3.9 |
| Newark | 347,469 | 9,475 | 4,477 | 4,998 | 2.7 | 246,070 | 6,694 | 3,034 | 3,660 | 2.7 | 181,830 | 4,141 | 2.3 |
| Washington | 331,069 | 94,446 | 42,615 | 51,831 | 28.5 | 278,718 | 86,702 | 38,348 | 48,354 | 31.1 | 230,392 | 75,572 | 32.8 |
| Jersey City | 267,779 | 5,960 | 3,020 | 2,940 | 2.2 | 206,433 | 3,704 | 1,846 | 1,858 | 1.8 | 163,003 | 2,099 | 1.2 |
| Kansas City | 248,381 | 23,566 | 11,885 | 11,681 | 9.5 | 163,752 | 17,567 | 8,560 | 9,007 | 10.7 | 132,716 | 13,700 | 10.3 |
| Indianapolis | 233,650 | 21,816 | 10,803 | 11,013 | 9.3 | 169,164 | 15,931 | 7,902 | 8,029 | 9.4 | 105,436 | 9,133 | 8.7 |
| Louisville | 223,928 | 40,522 | 19,602 | 20,920 | 18.1 | 204,731 | 39,139 | 18,842 | 20,297 | 19.1 | 161,129 | 28,651 | 17.7 |
| Columbus | 181,511 | 12,739 | 6,784 | 5,955 | 7.0 | 125,560 | 8,201 | 4,311 | 3,890 | 6.5 | 88,150 | 5,525 | 6.2 |
| Richmond | 127,628 | 46,733 | 21,472 | 25,261 | 36.6 | 85,050 | 32,230 | 14,354 | 17,876 | 37.9 | 81,388 | 32,330 | 39.7 |
| Memphis | 131,105 | 52,441 | 25,259 | 27,182 | 40.0 | 102,320 | 49,910 | 24,551 | 25,359 | 48.8 | 64,495 | 28,706 | 44.5 |
| Wilmington | 87,411 | 9,081 | 4,390 | 4,691 | 10.4 | 76,508 | 9,736 | 4,674 | 5,062 | 12.7 | 61,431 | 7,644 | 12.4 |
| Little Rock | 45,941 | 14,539 | 7,060 | 7,475 | 31.6 | 38,307 | 14,694 | 7,053 | 7,641 | 38.4 | 25,874 | 9,739 | 37.6 |

[2] Census from 1890–1910.

TABLE III

PERCENTAGE OF RACIAL ELEMENTS IN TOTAL POPULATION IN 1910.[3]

| Cities | Native White of Native Parents | Native White of Foreign Parents | Foreign Born | Negro |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| New York | 19.3 | 38.2 | 40.4 | 1.9 |
| Chicago | 20.4 | 41.8 | 35.7 | 2.0 |
| Philadelphia | 37.7 | 32.1 | 24.7 | 5.5 |
| St. Louis | 39.3 | 35.9 | 18.3 | 6.4 |
| Boston | 23.5 | 38.3 | 35.9 | 2.0 |
| Cleveland | 23.6 | 39.9 | 34.9 | 1.5 |
| Baltimore | 46.8 | 24.1 | 13.8 | 15.2 |
| Pittsburg | 33.0 | 35.9 | 26.3 | 4.8 |
| Buffalo | 28.2 | 43.3 | 28.0 | 0.4 |
| Cincinnati | 42.6 | 36.4 | 15.6 | 5.4 |
| Newark | 27.3 | 38.1 | 31.8 | 2.7 |
| Washington | 50.4 | 13.6 | 7.4 | 28.5 |
| Jersey City | 28.0 | 40.7 | 29.0 | 2.2 |
| Kansas City | 61.9 | 18.4 | 10.2 | 9.5 |
| Indianapolis | 64.5 | 17.7 | 8.5 | 9.3 |
| Louisville | 50.7 | 23.4 | 7.8 | 18.1 |
| Columbus | 64.4 | 19.6 | 9.0 | 7.0 |
| Richmond | 54.2 | 6.0 | 3.2 | 36.6 |
| Wilmington | 51.4 | 22.5 | 15.6 | 10.4 |
| Memphis | 45.8 | 9.3 | 4.9 | 40.0 |
| Little Rock | 54.0 | 10.0 | 4.3 | 31.6 |

In table III, I have taken the largest cities in the Border and Northern States to compare the percentage of racial elements in the total population of these cities. In them I find the percentage of Negro population in the total population ranging from 0.4% in Buffalo to 40.0% in Memphis. The percentage of Negroes in the Northern metropolitan cities is generally very small compared with the other racial elements, but as we approach the South it suddenly begins to rise. Wilmington has 10.4%; Baltimore, 15.2%; Louisville, 18.1%; Washington, 28.5%; Little Rock, 31.6%; Richmond, 36.6%; Memphis, 40.0%. In Washington, Little Rock, Richmond, and Memphis it is exceeded only by the native white population of native parents, far surpassing the other racial elements. In New York the foreign born exceed any of the other racial groups. In Chicago, Boston, Cleveland, Newark, and Jersey City the foreign born are more numerous than the native white population of native parents.

[3]Census of 1910, *Abstract*, p. 95.

The percentage of Negroes does not amount to 11% in any of the Northern cities, and in the largest cities it ranges from only 2% to 6%. Nevertheless, if the Negro population is considered in absolute numbers, it constitutes a "city within a city," larger than most of the cities of the South. The Negro city in New York is confined to a much smaller area than cities where the total population corresponds to it. We often hear it stated that foreigners do not have as much prejudice against the Negroes as do Americans. This statement seems strange when we examine a city like New York, with its heterogeneous cosmopolitan population, and find so much feeling against the Negro.

TABLE IV

PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES BORN OUTSIDE THE BORDER AND NORTHERN STATES FROM 1890 TO 1910, ALSO THE PERCENTAGE OF URBAN AND RURAL FOR 1910.[4]

| Pennsylvania | 1910 | 1900 | 1890 | Urban 1910 | Rural 1910 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Native Negro Population | 191,935 | 155,981 | 107,626 | 154,560 | 37,375 |
| Born in State | 84,960 | 70,365 | 58,681 | 63,605 | 21,355 |
| Born outside State | 106,975 | 85,616 | 48,945 | 90,955 | 16,020 |
| Per cent. outside State | 55.7 | 54.9 | 45.5 | 58.8 | 42.9 |
| New York | | | | | |
| Native Negro Population | 121,340 | 95,680 | 68,543 | 104,934 | 16,406 |
| Born in State | 49,750 | 44,614 | 40,177 | 40,151 | 9,599 |
| Born outside State | 71,590 | 51,066 | 28,366 | 64,783 | 6,807 |
| Per cent. outside State | 59.0 | 53.4 | 41.4 | 61.7 | 41.5 |
| New Jersey | | | | | |
| Native Negro Population | 88,273 | 69,385 | 47,362 | 64,143 | 24,130 |
| Born in State | 37,017 | 31,663 | 26,874 | 23,502 | 13,515 |
| Born outside State | 51,256 | 37,722 | 20,488 | 40,641 | 10,615 |
| Per cent. outside State | 58.1 | 54.4 | 43.3 | 63.4 | 44.0 |
| Ohio | | | | | |
| Native Negro Population | 110,797 | 96,418 | 86,771 | 81,676 | 29,121 |
| Born in State | 59,194 | 56,232 | 50,568 | 39,349 | 19,845 |
| Born outside State | 51,603 | 40,186 | 36,203 | 42,327 | 9,276 |
| Per cent. outside State | 46.6 | 41.7 | 41.7 | 51.8 | 31.9 |

[4] Census of 1910.

| West Virginia | 1910 | 1900 | 1890 | Urban 1910 | Rural 1910 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Native Negro Population | 64,091 | 43,475 | 32,686 | 15,353 | 48,738 |
| Born in State | 27,160 | 21,420 | 18,189 | 7,202 | 19,958 |
| Born outside State | 36,931 | 22,055 | 14,497 | 8,151 | 28,780 |
| Per cent. outside State | 57.6 | 50.7 | 44.4 | 53.1 | 59.1 |
| Virginia | | | | | |
| Native Negro Population | 670,800 | 660,570 | 635,673 | 158,031 | 512,769 |
| Born in State | 623,472 | 625,544 | 616,513 | 136,203 | 487,269 |
| Born outside State | 47,328 | 35,026 | 19,160 | 21,828 | 25,500 |
| Per cent. outside State | 7.1 | 5.3 | 3.0 | 13.8 | 5.0 |
| Illinois | | | | | |
| Native Negro Population | 108,121 | 84,468 | 56,507 | 84,758 | 23,363 |
| Born in State | 35,917 | 30,022 | 23,437 | 24,730 | 11,187 |
| Born outside State | 72,204 | 54,446 | 33,070 | 60,028 | 12,176 |
| Per cent. outside State | 66.8 | 64.5 | 58.5 | 70.8 | 52.1 |
| Maryland | | | | | |
| Native Negro Population | 231,799 | 234,761 | 215,388 | 98,849 | 132,950 |
| Born in State | 201,594 | 208,672 | 196,075 | 77,637 | 123,957 |
| Born outside State | 30,205 | 26,089 | 19,313 | 21,212 | 8,993 |
| Per cent. outside State | 13.0 | 11.1 | 9.0 | 21.5 | 6.8 |
| Indiana | | | | | |
| Native Negro Population | 60,223 | 57,441 | 45,466 | 48,351 | 11,872 |
| Born in State | 25,224 | 25,304 | 21,215 | 18,727 | 6,497 |
| Born outside State | 34,999 | 32,137 | 24,251 | 29,624 | 5,375 |
| Per cent. outside State | 58.1 | 55.9 | 53.3 | 61.3 | 45.3 |
| Delaware | | | | | |
| Native Negro Population | 31,146 | 30,668 | 28,362 | 11,142 | 20,004 |
| Born in State | 22,668 | 23,274 | 22,426 | 6,806 | 15,862 |
| Born outside State | 8,478 | 7,394 | 5,936 | 4,336 | 4,142 |
| Per cent. outside State | 27.2 | 24.1 | 20.9 | 38.9 | 20.7 |
| Tennessee | | | | | |
| Native Negro Population | 472,989 | 480,151 | 430,751 | 150,435 | 322,554 |
| Born in State | 393,173 | 405,007 | 363,058 | 102,362 | 289,811 |
| Born outside State | 79,816 | 75,144 | 67,693 | 47,073 | 32,743 |
| Per cent. outside State | 16.9 | 15.7 | 15.7 | 31.3 | 10.2 |
| Kentucky | | | | | |
| Native Negro Population | 261,590 | 284,634 | 268,057 | 106,577 | 155,013 |
| Born in State | 233,454 | 260,025 | 246,225 | 90,621 | 142,833 |
| Born outside State | 28,136 | 24,609 | 21,832 | 15,956 | 12,180 |
| Per cent. outside State | 10.8 | 8.6 | 8.1 | 15.0 | 7.9 |

In the above table I have taken some of the Border and Northern States, those that show the greatest fluctuation of the Negro population, to find out the percentage of Negroes born outside the State in which they reside. In this we find that the largest per cent. of Negroes in Illinois, New York, Indiana, New Jersey, West Virginia, and Pennsylvania were born outside of the State in which they reside. In Ohio, Tennessee, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky the greater part were born in the State in which they reside. Illinois heads the list with 66.8% born outside of the State, and Virginia falls to the bottom with only 7.1%. From this it is easy to see which way the Negroes are migrating. It also appears that Negroes have become more mobile each decade. In West Virginia, Oklahoma, and Arkansas the percentage of increase of Negroes was above that of the whites, but in all the other Southern States there was a small relative decrease in the proportion of Negroes to whites in the population.

TABLE V

NEGROES BORN IN ONE STATE AND RESIDING IN ANOTHER.[5]

| | Pennsylvania | | New York | | Ohio | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Gained from | Lost to | Gained from | Lost to | Gained from | Lost to |
| Virginia | 48,995 | 1,092 | 29,157 | 570 | 10,195 | 283 |
| Maryland | 20,030 | 1,621 | 3,510 | 343 | 737 | 130 |
| Delaware | 5,798 | 952 | 463 | 126 | 35 | 16 |
| District of Columbia | 2,937 | 848 | 2,080 | 435 | 284 | 285 |
| West Virginia | 2,260 | 554 | 345 | 63 | 2,358 | 1,176 |
| North Carolina | 9,735 | 264 | 10,283 | 161 | 3,884 | 82 |
| South Carolina | 2,113 | 107 | 6,698 | 48 | 1,102 | 27 |
| Georgia | 1,578 | 232 | 3,792 | 101 | 1,549 | 104 |
| Florida | 393 | 198 | 1,257 | 191 | 164 | 98 |
| Kentucky | 992 | 161 | 873 | 49 | 18,835 | 805 |
| Tennessee | 1,065 | 179 | 648 | 79 | 3,481 | 366 |
| Alabama | 545 | 213 | 536 | 53 | 781 | 229 |

In the above table I have taken Pennsylvania, New York, and Ohio to find out from which States they receive the largest number of their migratory Negroes, and how many they give in exchange. Just a glance at the table is enough to satisfy any one that thousands of Negroes are leaving the South, and but few are going into the South. Of course these three States have

[5] Census of 1910.

within their borders Negroes born in all the Southern States, but I thought it sufficient to work out only those States furnishing the largest number. In 1890 there were 241,000 Southern born Negroes living out of the South. In 1900 there were 349,000. From 1900 to 1910, 2,100 Northern Negroes went South. The total number of Negroes living in the North, but born in the South, was in 1910, 440,534. At the same date there were only 41,489 Negroes born in the North living in the South. Need we wonder, then, that there is a change in conditions with this great army of blacks marching into the North? Yet, there were but 1,078,000 Negroes north of Mason and Dixon's Line in 1910, or 1.72% of the total population of the North. In no geographic division outside of the South did the Negroes constitute as much as 3 per cent. of the total population in 1910. The highest percentage, 2.2, was in the Middle Atlantic division. Outside of the South there was no State in which the percentage of Negroes was as high as 5%. Negroes formed 4.8% of the population of Missouri; 3.5% of New Jersey; and 3.2% of Kansas. Despite the fact that the Negro population of the North appears as a negligible quanity at that time, it had reached sufficient proportions to call forth opposition.

In 1880 sixteen percent. of the Negro population, that is over 1,000,000 persons, were living in States other than those in which they were born; this migrating population increased 100,000 between 1880–1890. Between 1890 and 1900 it increased still faster, reaching in the later year 1,370,000. Between 1900–1910 it increased 240,000. Between 1860–1910 the Northern Negro population increased from 344,719 to 1,078,336, indicating a migration of at least 200,000 persons in addition to the natural increase. Mr. John C. Rose says: "There has been a considerable movement of Negroes, during the decade, northward across the Mason and Dixon's Line and the Ohio river. Yet in the North as a whole the Negroes do not even yet number one in every fifty of the inhabitants."[6]

According to the census of 1910, the net loss of Negroes from the South to the North and West was 399,045; yet the Southern whites show a net loss of only 46,839. Among the most striking things shown by the last two census are the small increases and

[6] *America Economic Review*, June, 1914.

decreases of the Negro population in the Border States. Of the six States in which the Negro population decreased during the last ten years, four of them—Maryland, Tennessee, Missouri, and Kentucky—are Border States. The increases for Virginia and Delaware were so very small that they can almost be classed with the retarded group. When we compare the movements of the white and Negro populations in the counties of the Border States we see some striking contrasts. For example, in the 98 counties of Virginia, the whites gained in 84, while the Negroes lost in 68. Similar contrasts appear in the figures for the other Border States. This shows us that the movements of Negroes and whites in these States are quite different. But when we go to a State like Alabama, we find that for the last decade, out of her 67 counties, the whites increased in 51 and the Negroes in 43. We also find that the rate of increase in the Negro population is about four times as rapid in the cities farther North as it is in those nearer the Mason and Dixon's Line. One half of all the Negroes in the thirty-two States, North, East, and West, are in the cities of Washington, New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, Pittsburg, Kansas City, Cincinnati, and Indianapolis.

We have seen from the census of 1910, table V, that up to that time, thousands of Negroes had migrated North. For some time we have been living under abnormal conditions. When the war clouds broke in Europe with its far reaching effects, our country did not escape and later entered into the struggle. The European War immediately caused a scarcity of labor in the North. Immigrants from the warring nations ceased to land on our shores, and many of those who were already here, returned to their native countries to fight. The demand for supplies from across the seas put our industrial plants to the test, and calls for labor were imperative. Before any one was aware of the fact Moses' army had begun to march out of Egypt. Thousands of Negroes were leaving the South for the North. This migration continued throughout the War and to-day no one knows how many Negroes crossed into the North. James W. Poe, President of the Colored Patriotic League, estimated that one third of a million Negro laborers had moved from twelve Southern States in less than a year, (June 23, 1917) and that at least 73,000 had

found their way into Pennsylvania. He gives the figures of the exodus by States as follows: Virginia, 49,768; Mississippi, 35,291; Tennessee, 22,633; Florida, 10,291; Georgia, 48,897; Kentucky, 21,855; South Carolina, 27,560; Texas, 10,870; North Carolina, 35,576; Arkansas, 23,628; Oklahoma, 5,836. The estimate made for the Government by G. R. Snavely for the State of Alabama, is 75,000 or 8.3% of the Negro population. This number, he says, migrated within eighteen months.

During the eighteen months, the time when the Negro migration was the most extensive, the Negro population of certain Northern cities is said to have increased from one to four fold. On July 12, 1917 it was estimated that Cleveland's Negro population had been increased by an influx of 10,000 Negroes from the South. During the year ending September 1917, it is reported that 25,000 Negroes entered Cincinnati; and for the same year Pittsburg found itself with a new Negro population of 18,550. The Negro population of Detroit jumped from 8,000 to 25,000, and the population of Philadelphia was increased by 40,000 Negroes from the South.

Dr. Du Bois conjectured that altogether about 250,000 Negro workmen had left the South up to June 1917. If these Negroes moved their families, it would imply that something like three-fourths of a million of Negroes have moved North. Other estimates, based upon the records of insurance companies, railway ticket offices, and other sources, range from 250,000 to 750,000. After weighing all the estimates, the result seems to show that from 400,000 to 500,000 Negroes have traveled North during the period of migration which ran at high tide during the years of 1916–1917. Of course these estimates are not much more than a guess and how many of these Negroes returned South no one knows. But, after all is said, I think we can say there are nearly 2,000,000 Negroes now living in the North.

2. Now let us examine the type of Negroes which is migrating North. In this I wish to ascertain whether the Negroes going North are rural or urban, blacks or mulattoes, illiterate or educated, for I am sure this has something to do with the race relationship in the North.

TABLE VI

GROWTH OF NEGRO URBAN POPULATION.[7]

| | Percentage of Urban and Rural Negro Population | | Percentage of Increase by Decades | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1910 | 1900 | 1910–00 | 1900–00 |
| Negro population in U. S., | 100.0 | 100.0 | 11.2 | 19.0 |
| Rural | 72.6 | 77.3 | 4.5 | 13.7 |
| Urban | 27.4 | 22.7 | 34.2 | 35.2 |

TABLE VII

RURAL AND URBAN NEGRO POPULATION IN THE SOUTH, NORTH, AND WEST FOR 1900-1910.[8]

| | 1910 | Rural Per cent. | 1900 | Per cent. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| United States | 7,138,534 | 100.0 | 6,829,873 | 100.0 |
| South | 6,894,972 | 95.6 | 6,558,173 | 96.0 |
| North | 232,708 | 3.0 | 271,700 | 4.0 |
| West | 10,854 | 1.5 | [9] | [9] |
| | | Urban | | |
| United States | 2,689,229 | 100.0 | 2,004,121 | 100.0 |
| South | 1,854,455 | 69.0 | 1,364,796 | 68.0 |
| North | 794,966 | 29.6 | 639,325 | 32.0 |
| West | 39,808 | 1.4 | [9] | [9] |

We see, from the above tables, that the Negroes are rapidly moving toward the cities. In 1860, less than 10% of the total Negro population lived in cities of 2,500 and over, but by 1910, 27.4% lived in such cities. In 1910 there were 38,992 fewer Negroes living in the rural districts of the North than in 1900, and 336,799 in the South. In 1910 there were 489,659 more Negroes living in the cities in the South than in 1900, and 155,641 in the North.

Nine Northern and Border cities—Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cincinnati, Evansville, Indianapolis, Pittsburg, and St. Louis—were chosen to show the tendency of the Negroes to leave the rural districts and go to the cities. In these it was found that between 1880 and 1890, the Negro population increased 36.2%, a rate three times that of the rate of increase in the Negro population of the United States. Between 1890 and 1900, the movement became more pronounced and the

[7] Census of 1910, *Abstract*, p. 92.

[8] *Idem, Supplementary Analysis*, pp. 204–205.

[9] In Census of 1900 figures for "West" are included in "North".

Negro population increased 74.4%, or more than four times the rate of increase of the Negro population in the United States. Between 1900 and 1910, the increase was 37.4%, or more than three times that of the Negro population in the United States.

In fifteen representative Southern cities it was also noticed that the Negro population increased more rapidly than the normal rate of increase all over the country, but during the same period the increase in the Northern cities was larger. In these it is shown that there is a steady migration of Negroes from rural to urban districts. If there is steady flow of Negroes from rural to urban districts, and such a large number of Negroes migrating from the South to the North, and 95.50% of the Negroes living in the South are rural, then, it seems to me, a large per cent. of the Southern Negroes migrating North must be rural.

TABLE VIII

PERCENTAGE OF MULATTOES IN THE STATES OF THE UNITED STATES—1910.[10]

| States | Mulattoes | States | Mulattoes | States | Mulattoes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Maine | 45.9— | North Dakota | 25.4— | Mississippi | 16.9 |
| New Hampshire° | 36.9— | South Dakota | 36.2— | Arkansas | 18.4 |
| Vermont | 26.9— | Nebraska | 27.1— | Louisiana | 21.4 |
| Massachusetts | 36.7 | Kansas | 29.9 | Oklahoma | 28.6 |
| Rhode Island | 33.4 | Delaware | 11.9— | Texas | 18.1 |
| Connecticut | 24.7— | Maryland | 18.6 | Montana | 33.3 |
| New York | 22.8 | District of C., | 34.9 | Idaho | 34.7— |
| New Jersey | 15.8 | Virginia | 33.2 | Wyoming | 13.1— |
| Pennsylvania | 19.2— | West Virginia | 32.5 | Colorado | 31.8— |
| Ohio | 35.2— | North Carolina | 20.7 | New Mexico | 27.0— |
| Indiana | 24.1— | South Carolina | 16.1 | Arizona | 22.3— |
| Illinois | 33.8 | Georgia | 17.3 | Utah | 25.3— |
| Michigan | 47.0— | Florida | 16.0 | Nevada | 37.0— |
| Wisconsin | 39.4— | Kentucky | 25.2 | Washington | 30.4— |
| Minnesota | 36.9— | Tennessee | 25.1 | Oregon | 29.1— |
| Iowa | 24.3— | Alabama | 16.7 | California | 36.3— |
| Missouri | 28.4 | | | | |

[10]Census of 1910, vol 1, p. 159.—A smaller percentage of mulattoes in 1910 than in 1890.

According to table VII, Michigan has the distinction of having the highest percentage of mulattoes, but she is followed closely by Maine. Delaware may be proud of having the smallest percentage, 11.9%. Wyoming comes next with 13.1%. Excepting the last two named states, it is clear that the smallest per cent. of mulattoes is in the "true" South. Then, if there are so many more "black" Negroes in the South than mulattoes, it seems reasonable, according to *a priori* arguments, to suppose that a very large per cent. of the Negroes who migrate North is black.

According to the census reports for 1910, the percentage of mulattoes in the Negro population has increased from 12% to 29.9%, or about 74%, since 1870; and from 15.2% to 20.9%, or about 37.5%, since 1890.

There is something about the white race that causes the "black" Negro to be repugnant to it. We do not mind so much coming in contact with the bright, shiny-faced mulatto, but when it comes to the flat-nosed, thick-lipped type there is greater aversion. I cannot help feeling that the Northern whites coming in contact with this black, thick-lipped, flat-nosed variety from the South is responsible in some measure, at least, for their change in relationship. The Negro living in the small Northern or Western town, where there are very few Negroes, gets along very well, but just as soon as there is a new migration from the South conditions are no longer Utopian; and were we to move one-half of the Negroes from the South into the North, we would create a problem far more serious and complicated than any that has ever existed in the Southern States. Almost everywhere I went in the North I heard complaints against the black Negroes from the South. Often I heard it said, "those who come from the South are so black."

TABLE IX

ILLITERATE NEGROES IN THE POPULATION TEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER BY STATES—1910.[11]

| State | Per cent. | State | Per cent. |
|---|---|---|---|
| New York | 5.0 | Delaware | 25.6 |
| New Jersey | 9.9 | Maryland | 23.4 |
| Pennsylvania | 9.1 | District of Columbia | 13.5 |
| Ohio | 11.1 | West Virginia | 20.3 |
| Indiana | 13.7 | Virginia | 30.0 |
| Illinois | 10.5 | North Carolina | 31.9 |
| Michigan | 5.7 | South Carolina | 38.7 |
| Wisconsin | 4.5 | Georgia | 36.5 |
| Minnesota | 3.4 | Florida | 25.5 |
| Iowa | 10.3 | Kentucky | 27.6 |
| Missouri | 17.4 | Tennessee | 27.3 |
| North Dakota | 4.8 | Alabama | 40.1 |
| South Dakota | 5.5 | Mississippi | 35.6 |
| Nebraska | 7.2 | Arkansas | 26.4 |
| Kansas | 12.0 | Louisiana | 48.7 |
| Texas | 24.6 | Oklahoma | 17.7 |

From Table IX I have omitted the New England, Mou ntain, and Pacific States. This table shows that the Southern States have the highest per cent. of illiterates. Louisiana takes the lead with 48.4%. As we approach the North and West the percentage gradually grows smaller.

TABLE X

ILLITERATES IN THE POPULATION TEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER—1910.[12]

| Cities | Native White of Native Parents | Native White of Foreign Parents | Foreign Born | Negro |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Boston | 0.1 | 0.2 | 10.0 | 3.5 |
| New York | 0.2 | 0.4 | 13.2 | 3.6 |
| Philadelphia | 0.5 | 0.6 | 12.9 | 7.8 |
| St. Louis | 0.6 | 0.6 | 11.4 | 12.4 |
| Kansas City | 0.4 | 0.4 | 8.9 | 9.6 |
| Indianapolis | 0.9 | 0.5 | 11.3 | 12.4 |
| Cincinnati | 1.0 | 0.5 | 9.6 | 14.3 |
| Chicago | 0.2 | 0.3 | 10.0 | 4.0 |
| Columbus | 1.3 | 0.9 | 12.6 | 8.7 |
| Washington | 0.6 | 0.4 | 8.2 | 13.5 |
| Louisville | 1.3 | 1.0 | 9.5 | 18.7 |
| Baltimore | 0.6 | 0.6 | 12.0 | 13.2 |

[11] Census of 1910, *Abstract*, p. 245.

[12] Census of 1910, *Abstract*, p. 250.

In the above table I took a few of the largest cities to compare the percentage of Negro illiterates with the native whites of native parents and with native white of foreign parents, also, foreign born. We can gain very little by a comparison of Negro illiterates with foreign born, as many of the foreign born have not had the advantages of our schools. In every case the percentage of illiteracy is higher among the Negroes than among either the native whites of native parents or the native whites of foreign parents. In cities where they have separate schools for the two races, we can account for part of their illiteracy on the grounds that the Negro schools are often not as good as those for the whites, but where the schools are not separate, having the same laws, management, teachers, etc., we shall have to say part of it, at least, is due to migration of illiterate Negroes from the South. The presence of these illiterate blacks in the North, from the South, stirs up race feeling more and more. Large numbers of them go North, seeking freedom, where they can have their "rights," and often they mistake liberty for license—as a result, the more Negroes the sharper the expression of prejudice.

The whites, who in 1910 constituted 89.3% of the total population ten years of age and over, contributed 40.4% of the illiterates. In 1910, 36.1% of the illiterate Negroes was in the rural districts and 17.6% was urban. Illiteracy among the Negroes, however, is declining rapidly in all the states. In many sections the Negroes are striving harder to gain an education than the whites.

3. Now let us turn to the third part of this chapter and try to find the causes of the migration of the Negro to the North.

Most of the Negroes, perhaps over three-fourths, have gone North for economic reasons. This fact was brought out in every investigation made. Of course quite a bit of this is due to the work of labor agents. Before the European War labor agents did a thriving business; according to one agent, positions had been given to more than 15,000 Southern Negro girls and women during eighteen years. After the European War began labor agents were sent South to get Negro laborers and ship them North. The labor agents were unscrupulous as to the means used for soliciting Negroes to go North to work. They issued attractive circulars containing such phrases as, "Let's go back

North where there are no labor troubles, no strikes, no lockouts; large coal, good wages, fair treatment. Two weeks' pay; good houses. We ship you and your household goods. All colored ministers can go free. Will advance you money if necessary. Scores of men have written us thanking us for sending them. Go now while you have a chance." These circulars and the news of the Negro migration reached almost every Negro cabin in the South. The promise of free transportation on a special train to work that would pay them from twice to five times as much as they were making at home excited many a Negro throughout Dixie. Of course the labor agents did not care so much for the quality as they did the quantity. They received their pay "by the head" and it was to their interest to get large numbers to go North. It seems, however, that a majority of the migrants were unmarried men between the ages of 18 and 30.

Neither the labor organizations of the North nor the wealthy farmers of the South wished to see these Negroes migrate. Often the Negroes are used as strike breakers, as in East St. Louis. This often results in serious rioting. On the other hand, this migration left many of the wealthy farmers in the South without a sufficient supply of labor to cultivate their farms. It is reported that many acres of good farming land have been idle for the last four years as a result of the migration of the Negroes. These farmers are largely responsible for the laws being passed prohibiting the wholesale exportation of labor out of the different States in the South. These Southern employers have been raising a pathetic cry about the great loss the migration has cost and it is estimated that it represents an economic loss to the South of not less than $200,000,000 in crop wealth. But there is another element in the South, whose voice we seldom hear through the public press,—the white laborers pressed down for a hundred years by economic competition with the Negro, have been given a new hope by the present migration, and wherever their voices are heard, whether around the moonshine still or the cross-roads store, they say with one accord, "Let them go."

A few, if not many, of these Negroes have left their homes in the South for fear of mob violence. Of course the Negro is not in any great danger of being lynched unless he transgresses the "law." And while it is not the chief cause of migration, never-

theless, it is reported that there was a great hegira of Negroes after the riot at Wilmington, North Carolina, August, 1898, and the one at Atlanta, Georgia, 1906. Also, there was an exodus from the North to the South after the East St. Louis and Chicago riots.

Another cause of Negro migration is the desire for more political freedom. In most of the Southern States, only the better class of Negroes vote, while the ignorant, poor Negroes are disfranchised. While I do not think the Southern Negro, as a rule, cares very much about political parties, yet some of them do, and seek a state where they can have more political freedom. It has been proven more than once that politicians have Negroes sent North to swing the elections. In 1916 Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan are said to have received hundreds of Negro "laborers" imported from the South, whose chief reason for being in the North was to swing the election.

Usually the Negroes are "wild to go Norf," and usually take advantage of the first opportunity. The South may be loath to give them up and the labor organizations may be opposed to their coming North, still they come, and still the South has them by the millions. Alabama, Mississippi, and Georgia have three-tenths of all the Negroes in the United States. The South has 77% and the North 23%. Washington county, Mississippi, has more Negroes than Maine, Minnesota, Montana, Oregon, Wyoming, Vermont, Utah, New Hampshire, Idaho, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and California all combined. She has more than either West Virginia, Delaware, or Oklahoma. Negroes constitute 62.9% of the population of the Mississippi alluvial region.

## CHAPTER II

## SEGREGATION IN CITIES AND THE COUNTRY

In this chapter I expect to deal specifically with segregation of Negroes in city blocks, districts, and wards, and in rural districts. I shall leave the segregation in schools, parks, hotels, etc., for the following chapters as they can best be treated there.

1. We have seen from the preceding chapter that thousands of Negroes have migrated North. Let us follow the Negroes to their Northern homes and examine the conditions there. In their Northern homes we find them dwelling in more or less segregated districts. This segregation within the city is caused by striking forces working both within and without the body of Negroes themselves. The Negro naturally desires to be with other Negroes. They are very gregarious. The consciousness of kind in racial, family, and friendly ties seems to bind them closer to one another than their white fellow-citizens, but later, as the Negro develops, he wishes to get a better place to dwell—then the trouble comes. The white immigrant can shuffle off the coil of his Continental condition and soon lose his identity in American society, but, not so with the Negro; his black or brown skin betrays him and he must take a "Negro's place." So there grows up in the cities of the North a distinct Negro world, isolated from many of the impulses of common life and little understood by the white world about it. About the only white people who know or care anything about these Negro districts are the politicians, who understand them as well as the seamen knows the depths and shallows of the sea. Negroes continue to come from the South and settle in the Negro districts. Thus the Negro ghetto is growing up in all the Northern cities. New York has its Harlem districts of over 40,000 within about eighteen city blocks; Philadelphia, its Seventh Ward; Chicago, its State Street; Washington, its Northwest Neighborhood; Baltimore, its Druid Hill Avenue; and Louisville, its Chestnut Street and "Smoketown." The white communities surrounding

or bordering the Negro districts frequently misjudge these communities, as is seen in the sobriquets of "Monkeybottom," "Needmore," "Lickskillet," "Buzzard's Alley," "Niggertown." "Chinch-row," and, as indicated, the people who dwell in these neighborhoods are all lumped by popular opinion into one class. We usually generalize concerning the Negro and individualize concerning the whites. If one Negro commits a crime we usually blame all the Negroes, but if a white man commits the same crime he alone is blamed.

Mr. Baker, writing on the conditions of the Negro in the North, says: "In abolition times these Negroes were much regarded. Many of them attained and kept a certain real position among the whites; they were even accorded unusual opportunities and favors. * * * At a time when the North was passionately concerned in the abolition of slavery the colour of his skin sometimes gave the Negro special advantages, even honours.

"For years after the war this condition continued; then a stream of migration of Southern Negroes began to appear, at first a mere rivulet, but latterly increasing in volume, until to-day all our Northern cities have swarming coloured colonies. Owing to the increase of the Negro population and for other causes which I have mentioned, sentiment in the North toward the Negro has been undergoing a swift change."[13] During abolition times the Negroes in the North were highly respected and were accorded unusual favors and opportunities. But later the Negroes began to go and settle in the Northern cities, overflowing their boundaries in every direction, increasing more rapidly than any other single element of the urban population. Soon outrageous assaults, robberies, murders, and rapes began to occur, and with these the Northern whites became as hostile as the Southern whites, until to-day, the Negro in the Northern city is almost completely outside the pale of the white man's sympathy and there is nothing more tragic than the conditions of the swarming Negro population. These things have so changed the North that to-day we find men openly advocating segregation. Mr. J. J. Lindley, in discussing the conditions of the Negroes in New York, says: "Segregation to my mind is the best way to preserve the environment of both races. * * * In

[13] *Following the Color Line,* pp. 217-218.

the upper section of this city there is a colony of colored people which has grown within the past twelve years from 10 inhabitants to nearly 100,000. * * * As long as the white people do not annoy them there is peace and harmony. Their one wish is to be let alone. When the Negro began settling there in that section of the city, the white residents resented it, and tried to stop the influx, but greedy property-owners kept on selling leases and property to the Negroes, so that now it is purely a Negro colony, and one of the largest in any of the Northern cities. How much better it is that they should be there in one locality than scattered all over the city."[14]

In this, Mr. Lindley not only expresses his own sentiment but he indicates two other things. He indicates that the whites are averse to living in Negro neighborhoods. Indeed, the Negro settlements are usually bordered by or surrounded by the gibberish-speaking Italians and other foreigners. Really, the Negro comes to make his home among a people who are foreign to him. He is not to any great extent with the descendants of the men who years ago fought for his freedom——he speaks mournfully of wishing that he might take his chances with the American——but he is living among many races, the most of which have lately come to this country and have no traditions of friendliness. To him their language is a barbarous jargon and their customs utterly foreign. Often he feels as if he had been mysteriously transplanted into an unfriendly foreign country. Mr. Lindley also states that the "greedy property-owners kept on selling leases and property to the Negroes." This seems to say that the Negroes were paying higher prices for the leases and property than the whites. It is evident that these "greedy property-owners" would not have continued these sales unless more money was coming to them. I have often found that Negroes have to pay higher rents and get poorer houses than their white neighbors.

In most of the Northern cities there is no law on the statute-books forbidding the Negro living where he pleases, but they are segregated very definitely. Some people wish to call this separation, but between segregation and separation there are broad and essential differences. Segregation comes by force,

[14] *New Republic, p.* 199.

separation by natural choice. Some one has said that segregation is the voice of the stronger, saying to the weaker: "Thou shalt not." Separation is the voice of the self-confident saying: "I prefer to do this." While there is no segregation law there is the all-powerful law of sentiment which is stronger than a law on a statute-book. It has power to put any law in force or to make any law null and void. This law is at work in the North and it says to the Negro: "Thou shalt not live here," and he speedily moves. In Philadelphia a Negro rented a home and moved his furniture and family in. That night he had hundreds of callers and the next day he moved out. In the 2500 block of Pine Street, one Negro moved in and others were moving in. As a result houses were stoned and two wagonloads of furniture were burned and a declaration was passed that no Negroes would be tolerated in that vicinity.

Within the cities in Pennsylvania the Negroes are usually very definitely segregated. Often the segregation does not appear as much as it really is because the Negro population is cut into by ward lines. The largest group of Negroes in Philadelphia are in the 7th and 30th wards. Philadelphia has a segregation peculiar to itself. Many of the well-to-do whites live on Chestnut and Walnut streets while the Negroes live on the small streets just behind them. In some places the Negroes are completely surrounded by the whites, the whites living on the wide out streets and the Negroes living on the small streets on the interior. It was found that 46 houses sheltered 123 families—715 men, women, and children—75 of the couples were married, 20 were of uncertain marriages, and 28 lived in the common law relations. Yet if one of these couples had tried to move into a white district of the city where they could live like human beings, a race riot would have been the outcome. Rev. Dr. Carl E. Grammer says: "My heart burns when the renting of a house in certain sections of Philadelphia will cause a riot and a colored man is 'accidentally' shot on his way to the police station."

Conditions in New York, Chicago, Pittsburg, Boston, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit and many other Northern cities are similar to Philadelphia. In all the Northern cities the Negroes have built up "quarters" which they occupy to the

increasing exclusion of other classes of people, for now even the foreigners object to living among the Negroes. In these districts the Negroes live chiefly in rooming houses or tenements, usually containing several families. Many of the houses are dilapidated dwellings, with the plaster sagging from the lath, the paper torn off, the windows broken, and the rooms dark, damp, stuffy and unsanitary. In these houses the Negroes sleep not only in the bedrooms, but also in the basements, attics, dining rooms and kitchens. Often there are as many as six and sometimes more sleeping in one room. Sometimes they have two shifts, each section being allowed to use the room and beds for twelve hours, when the other section comes in and uses them. Back South the Negro might have been oppressed, but he could have his home located in a comfortable place with plenty of light and air. At least, he did not have to live in one room in a congested slum and pay excessive rents.

What does it mean to live in these segregated districts? I think it is clear that the cruel iron hand of public sentiment forces both the good and bad Negroes, regardless of their education, refinement, or financial standing, to dwell together in the Negro districts. It is also clear that they have to pay higher rents and get poorer houses than their white neighbors. These Negro districts usually have less effective police protection than the white districts. Their fire protection is inadequate; their streets are often unpaved; they often have poorer sewerage; but they do have everything that goes to bring about unsanitation, sickness, death, crime, vice and destruction. The "red-light" districts are usually located within or near their boundaries. They may protest as they quite often do, but no one heeds their cry. They are forced to witness sin in all of its worst forms. They know the white man in his worst. During the still hours of midnight they hear the white man's automobile puffing its smoke through their dingy streets. They know the rest. Often in many of their quarters, drunken men and women lie in the streets unmolested. Murder is common. Vice dens stand open. Indeed, it is a pandemonium where sin is crowned "Lord of All."

2. We have examined segregation by public sentiment, now, let us turn and examine the segregation ordinances in cities.

The preamble of the Louisville ordinance was as follows: "To prevent conflict and ill-feeling between the white and colored races in the city of Louisville and to preserve the public peace and promote the general welfare by making reasonable provisions requiring, as far as practicable the use of separate blocks for residence, place of abode and place of assembly by white and colored people respectively." Then follows the ordinance. The ordinances of all the cities where segregation has been in force expressed this as their purpose. There are some differences in the ordinances; in general they are of four types: (1) The ordinances passed by Baltimore apply only to all-white and all-Negro blocks, making it against the law for a Negro to move into a white block and *vice versa*. (2) The type passed by Virginia enables the cities to divide into segregated districts. This makes it unlawful for a Negro to move into a white district. (3) The type passed by Richmond, before the Statewide segregation act, legislates for the whole city, declaring that a block is "white" whenever a majority of the residents are white and "colored" when a majority of the residents are Negroes. According to this law a Negro can move into a mixed block when a majority of those residing in that block are Negroes. (4) Norfolk goes a step farther and determines the color of the block not only by the occupancy of the property, but also according to the ownership of the property within the block. In all the ordinances, an exception is made in regard to domestic servants residing with their employers.

Baltimore was the first city to enact a segregation ordinance, which was done in 1910. It was introduced by Councilman West and consequently bore his name. For some years there had been friction between the races in the city, resulting from colored people moving in white blocks. This friction reached its climax in 1910, when a colored man moved into the 1800 block of McCullok Street, which was a white block. The whites immediately determined to stop futher encroachment of Negroes on white blocks. This brought the first ordinance in 1910. The next year a test case held this ordinance invalid. Immediately another was passed. Soon some doubt arose about it and another was passed in May, 1911. This one was held to be unconstitutional, so September 25, 1913, they passed the last one,

which seems to be holding. Thus Baltimore passed four acts within three years. Each ordinance seems to have met with vigorous opposition. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People twice won against the measure, the last time before the Supreme Court of Maryland. It is difficult to say just what caused Baltimore to pass these ordinances, more than above. She is a border city, the gateway to the South as well as to the North. She had a smaller percentage of Negroes in 1910 than in 1900, having 15.2 per cent. in 1910 and 15.6 per cent. in 1900. But Baltimore was a growing city between 1890 and 1900, and during that time there was a rush of rural Negroes into the city. This caused race prejudice to develop and was probably the chief cause of the acts.

Other cities followed the pattern of Baltimore. Richmond, Norfolk, Ashland, Virginia, followed in 1911. In 1912, Virginia passed Statewide segregation, which permitted cities and towns, so desiring, to segregate the races. The police justice declared the Norfolk ordinance to be unconstitutional, and it was carried to the higher court. Roanoke and Atlanta followed in 1913. The Supreme Court declared the Atlanta ordinance to be unconstitutional, that to prevent members of the two races from living in the same block was "to deny the inherent right of a person to acquire, enjoy or dispose of property, and for this reason is a violation of the due process clause of the Federal and State Constitutions."[15]

Winston-Salem and some other smaller cities passed segregation ordinances in 1914. The Supreme Court of North Carolina, in April, 1914, declared the Winston-Salem ordinance unconstitutional. Judge Devine said: "The result of this policy might well be a large exodus of the most enterprising and thrifty element of the colored race, leaving the unthrifty and less desirable element in the State on taxpayers. If the Board of Aldermen is thereby authorized to make this restriction, a bare majority of the board could, if they deem it wise and proper, require Republicans to live on a certain street and Democrats on another, or that Protestants should reside only in a certain part of the town and Catholics in another, or that Germans or people

[15] *Courier-Journal*, Louisville, Ky., Feb. 13, 1915.

of German descent should reside only where they were in the majority."[16]

Louisville passed the segregation ordinance in 1914. It was opposed especially by the Negroes. Mr. Wm. H. Steward, editor of *The American Baptist*, a Negro publication, said: "My race feels that such an ordinance would humiliate us and while not offensive to the whites, it would be so to the Negroes. It would serve to keep us in alleys by confining us to certain localities, and would be a death-blow to the progressive work which we are carrying on for the uplift of the race.

"Such an ordinance would not guarantee us a decent locality for raising of children, as the localities now occupied by the Negroes are in the worst section of town. The white people and the Negroes ought to be able to reach an agreement and settle the difficulties without passing a law."[17] On the other hand, Otis L. Harrison, editor of *The Columbian Herald*, a Negro paper, favored segregation. He argued that it was best for the Negro. In closing he said:

"My people will be angry with me
Because I hold up this noble fact;
Some day for themselves they'll see
The advantage of the segregation act.

When they wake up from their dreams,
They'll be glad we made the fight;
Though we made it all, it seems,
By toiling both day and night."

Many of the influential whites and several of the papers published by whites were against the segregation act. One prominent white lady cried because the Negroes were humiliated in such a manner.

I think the real estate dealers were responsible for the passage of the Louisville segregation ordinance. I found that they often played such games as the following, which was related to me by a colored lady in Louisville. She said that her father—who was a Baptist minister and had lived in Louisville for a number of years was often called on the telephone and told to come to a certain number on a certain street. When he would get there

[16] *Survey*, vol. 33, p. 72.

[17] *The Louisville Herald*, March 19, 1914.

he would find a vacant house. But the real estate dealer had before hand told the whites living near, that a Negro was trying to buy the house. The whites would see this Negro there and think he was trying to buy the house. In this way the real estate dealers made thousands of dollars. The colored lady went to a white lady's home in a white section of the city, one day, and found the white lady very much disturbed. The white lady asked the Negro why her father wanted to buy the adjoining house. The Negro replied that her father did not want to buy it; he did not have the money to buy it with, and had never thought of it. The white lady told the Negro that a real estate dealer told her he was trying to buy it, and she saw him around there. Finally, however, the straw that broke the camel's back came. A Negro, who was advised by the leaders of his race not to do so, bought a home in a white section of the city and moved into it. The segregation act was then passed.

The Louisville segregation act went through the Ordinance Court, then to the Circuit Court and was upheld in both courts. The Court of Appeals declared there was no discrimination. In 1917, the Supreme Court declared it to be unconstitutional. In regard to this decision the *Journal and Guide*, a Negro newspaper published at Norfolk, Va., says: "We are hopeful and optimistic. The segregation decision of 1917 is a far step from the Dred Scott decision of 1857. And it must be remembered that the decision was handed down by a Supreme Court the majority of whose members are Democrats, and whose chief justice is a native Southerner. The decision is unique and remarkable also for the reason that never before in the history of the Supreme Court has that tribunal reached a unanimous decision upon any question upholding the rights of the Negro."

St. Louis passed the segregation ordinance in February, 1916. This was the first popular vote by the initiative under the new city charter of St. Louis, and the first popular vote in the United States in regard to race segregation. It resulted in adoption by a three to one vote. One half of the total registration cast their votes. One half of those who voted against the measure were Negroes. The only white wards which voted against it were two down town districts inhabited by citizens of foreign birth. This election marked the end of a six years' fight by the small property

owners and real estate dealers to secure the segregation of the races. "The ordinances were not vigorously opposed because it was apparent from the first that it would be almost impossible to make much headway against universal race prejudice and the interest of small property owners. * * * Much prejudice against the Negro had doubtless been aroused by the recent long run of the 'Birth of a Nation'."[18]

The preambles of these ordinances are couched in modest phraseology that seems not to portray any great amount of race prejudice. But the Negro understands, full well, that it is a serious blow to his progress. It means that the Negro must live where he is, regardless of progress, education, or refinement. This is especially true in regard to some of the ordinances. Saying a block is a mixed block is equivalent to saying it is a Negro block, for that is what it means in the end. When a white family moves away from a mixed block, generally speaking, a Negro must move in, if any one does. Whites usually do not wish to move in, and if the Negro is not allowed to, the house generally stands empty. Under the Louisville ordinances one family could change a block from white to colored. I know of one instance in which this happened, and a lady, who lived on the rent she received from a house, could not rent her house for several months.

There seems to be a chance for a Negro to build on a vacant lot and thus escape undesirable surroundings. But we know full well that unless the vacant block is in the Negro district, there will be whites near and they will file objections, and the Negro will not be allowed to build. If the whites are not near enough to object, he is still in "Niggertown."

The segregation ordinances have their advantages and disadvantages. It is an advantage to the small property owners and real estate dealers. It is a well known fact that if a Negro moves into a white block, property near by rapidly declines in value. The real estate dealer does not like to buy property in a block and then a Negro move in the block and lower the price of his property. The small property owners, real estate dealers, and petty politicians seem to be the chief promulgators of segregation ordinances.

[18] *Survey*, March 11, 1916, p. 694.

The ordinances are disadvantageous to the Negroes, as they serve to keep them in the alleys and back streets. In Ashland, Virginia, a Negro was forbidden to occupy himself, or rent to Negroes, a house which he had purchased at auction. As it was formerly occupied by Negroes, white people could not move in and the property is going down in ruin. In another town a Negro was forbidden to build a house next to his own home on land he had owned for years. In Louisville, a Negro bought a home; before he could move in, that block was declared "white," so he has to rent it to white people.

While segregation is disadvantageous to the Negro, I can see where it may come to be a blessing in disguise. It may be advantageous in forcing the better element to live with the bad. Of course this is trying at first, but it may serve to make the upper class take more interest in the lower. Thus it would bring about better police and fire protection, cleaner streets, better housing conditions, and a general uplift of the race.

It may serve to help the Negro in another way. As the Negroes are segregated from the whites, they will, naturally, build up large Negro towns by the side of the white towns or cities, which will be joined on to them as Buda is joined to Pest. In their own city they will have their own police, as they do in many towns in the South to-day. Later they will get other officers, elect their own representatives, and thus gain back much of their political power which they have lost through disfranchisement in some of the Southern States.

The segregation ordinances started in Baltimore and have been making their chief headway in the Border States, and in those Border States which fought for the freedom of the Negroes in the Civil War. The more Southern cities have not shown much interest in the segregation movement. A bill was introduced into the General Assembly of North Carolina, much like the Virginia segregation law, but it was lost. In several Southern cities it was discussed and dropped without any action; in others, it was delayed indefinitely; in some, like Birmingham, it was voted down; and in others, it was declared unconstitutional. Mr. A. P. Bruce says: "All the previous Statewide measures to separate the two races have had the unanimous approval of the Southern white people. On the other hand, this new municipal

measure has not the unreserved endorsement of certain important sections of that people. At least, it can be said that the wealthier classes look upon the law with indifference."[19]

3. There are some other movements connected with segregation which should be discussed in this chapter.

(1) Dr. Clarence Poe, editor of *The Progressive Farmer*, North Carolina, fathered a movement to segregate the races in the country. Dr. Poe advocated the enactment of a statute by the General Assembly of North Carolina, providing that whenever the greater part of the land acreage in any given district is owned by one race, a majority of the voters in such a district may say that in the future no land shall be sold to a person of a different race, provided such action is approved or allowed by a reviewing judge or board of county commissioners. This movement, though strongly advocated by Dr. Poe, has met no general approval. We may say it has met with violent opposition on the part of many progressive whites. I feel sure it will never amount to anything in North Carolina.

(2) There is another movement that may be brought in here. This can scarcely be said to be a segregation movement, for the white people either never allow Negroes to live in certain districts and towns, or drive them out and do not permit them to return. In Waverly, Ohio, Negroes are not allowed to dwell. The white people do not believe they can stand the presence of a Negro in their town. A Negro is not permitted to stay over night under any consideration in Syracuse, Ohio. Some months ago "night-riders" appeared and drove all the Negroes out of New Madrid county, Missouri. There are certain counties in Indiana and Illinois that do not permit a Negro to dwell within their boundaries. Lawrenceburg, Ellwood, and Salem, Indiana, have not permitted Negroes to dwell there for years. On December 13, 1918, notices were posted in Boothwyn, Pa., giving the Negroes the following instructions: "All colored people are requested by the general public of Boothwyn to move by the 21 Dec. 1918. Boothwyn, Pa."

[19] *Nation*, vol. 93, p. 119.

During the European War many Negroes went to Coatesville, Pa., to work. After the end of the war a wave of crime hit Coatesville and each night the cells at City Hall were filled with lodgers. Each morning the Negroes were lined up before the mayor, who informed them there was no work there for them, and then turned them over to the police with orders to escort them out of town and show them the road back South. In Huntington, Indiana, a petition was signed by 328 citizens, who demanded the removal of all Negroes from the city. They advanced as their reason that the Negroes were being used to replace white labor. The Negroes of Pittsburg are colonized largely in the East End. Recently they awoke to find their section of the town placarded with the following warning: "The Klu Kluk Klan. The War Is Over. Niggers Stay in Your Places. If You Don't We'll Put You There. The Klu Kluk Klan." All over the North the Negroes were herded together and given instructions to "head South." Those that have reached the South fervently claim that it is no more North for them.

I think it is clear that the chief battle of segregation is being fought in and near the Border States. The Northern Border States are in the heat of the fight. I believe the South, in general, has no special interest in legal segregation beyond the laws already in force. I think that the South realizes if she continues to pass restrictive laws, she will lose the progressive element of the Negro race. This she does not wish to do. I believe the leaders of the Southern white people have come to realize that a "rose cannot bloom under a millstone, but a cactus can." So they are now working to develop the better qualities of the Negro rather than suppress them.

## CHAPTER III

## SEGREGATION IN INSTITUTIONS OF LEARNING

Very early after the Civil War the States which formed the Southern Confederacy established the dual system of schools. Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Missouri, Kentucky, West Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware maintain this dual system of schools very rigidly. Kentucky, West Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware were willing to be counted with the North in the war, but in the dual school system they were willing to be reckoned with the South. Where did the idea of separate schools for the races originate? In the North. Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Nevada once had separate schools, but most of them now have laws on their statute-books prohibiting them. Colorado, Idaho, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Rhode Island, and New Mexico also prohibit them. Indiana and Arizona permit the school boards to establish separate schools if it is thought to be necessary. Kansas permits separate schools in cities of over 150,000 inhabitants. Connecticut, Maine, Montana, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Vermont, South Dakota, Utah, Wisconsin, and Washington have not seen fit to express their sentiments in regard to separate schools.

We have seen that the Statewide dual system of schools is chiefly in those States designated as "South" in the Civil War. Here we should naturally expect to find this system, if anywhere, because it is chiefly the home of the Negro. But I think there is another explanation to it. I hardly think the system would have been so widespread, especially in the rural mountain districts, had it not been for the Reconstruction Period. The psychological effects of the period of Reconstruction upon the whites of the South can hardly be overestimated. It served to intensify racial differences and interests in a way very injurious to both groups, but especially to the Negroes. The Negro's

good conduct at home during the war, and proving himself to be a fighter, won for him the highest admiration on the part of the whites. The North had the idea that the Negroes would revolt and leave their masters, but this they did not do. A few of them ran away and went to the North, it is true, but most of them remained at the homes of their white masters, obediently working to support their masters' families and the Southern army. During all this period they remained faithful to every trust and not once were their black hands stained with blood. But when it came to the Reconstruction Period there was a change. This period, probably, hurt the South more than the four years war. The white man had been master of the Negro, but now the Negro was master of the white man. This caused the Southern whites to become embittered with a prejudice, both against the North and the Negro, that is far from being dead. To this cause, I think, can be attributed many of the laws of the South regarding the Negro.

Just as soon as the schools were opened for the Negroes they were willing to take advantage as far as circumstances would permit. They had learned in slavery that education was not for a slave. Slavery being over, naturally, they were in a hurry to get an education. In their childish hopefulness they saw in education a sort of talismanic panacea. While they had no very definite idea regarding it, they were pretty sure that whatever else it might be, it did not constitute manual labor. They wanted education more than anything else, unless it was a public office. They desired it even more than the forty acres of land and a mule, which, it is said, was promised them and for which they waited so long in vain. Whatever else may be said against the Negroes, there is one thing, at least, to their credit, the Negroes after the war, and even to-day, throughout the South take advantage of practically every opportunity offered them for an education. In many places they far excel the whites along educational lines in comparison with the advantages offered. It is often said of the Negro in the South, that he will go to school regardless of what he has to eat and wear.

We have seen that some of the Border States fought with the North but are as strict as any typical Southern State in separating the races in school. Now, let us examine the conditions in the other Border and Northern States.

1. When we examine the elementary and high schools of the Border and Northern States, we find that in most of them the law makes no distinction between the races as to their respective rights in the public school. There is, however, along the Southern border of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Kansas a semi-legal segregation in the schools in force. At least, it amounts to a tacit understanding, in some of the towns, that the colored children must go to the colored schools, and that they will not be admitted to the schools attended by the white children. In fact, in any Northern town where they are proportionately numerous, there is just the same tendency and desire to have them separated from the whites as there is in the South. If this separation is not effected by white parents procuring the transfer of their children to schools where there but a few Negroes, very often parents send their children to private schools in order that they may not have to go to school with Negroes.

In Kansas the school laws do not permit the separation of colored and white children except in cities of first class and then only in elementary schools. High schools of the State are open to both races with the exception of Kansas City, Kansas, which by special legislation has been permitted to segregate the races for the high school. When this law was passed, 1900, the Negro population in Kansas City was only 12.7 per cent. of the total population of the town, and about 3.5 per cent. of the whole population of the State. It seems that it was caused by agitation following the murdering of a white boy by a Negro.

In many of the towns in Indiana the Negro children are admitted into the public schools with the white children. Other towns, however, maintain strict separate schools for the two races. Jeffersonville, Princetown, Evansville, Mt. Vernon, and Madison are especially noted for their separate schools. In Indianapolis the races are not so definitely separated, but even there, schools have been established in and near their settlements. Indiana has five colored high schools.

There is no law for separation of the races in the schools of Illinois. There are, however, in the central and southern part of the State, a number of counties where separate schools prevail. In these counties the separation is carried out fully. In the cities, graded schools with high school courses are provided for,

and proficient teachers are employed and the country schools are becoming standardized along with the other schools of the counties. In 1913 Illinois had six Negro high schools, two more than she had in 1910. Illinois has eighteen counties that maintain these separate schools. This is according to the law of public sentiment. In Alton, in 1908, the Negro children were excluded from the public school most convenient to them. A case came up and after being tried seven times went to the Supreme Court where the Negroes gained it. But the next year the Negroes were excluded again.

Ohio does not permit the separation of the races in schools, but Ohio has separate schools in some places and is listed as having one Negro high school. That is as many as Maryland or Delaware is listed as having, both of which maintain strict separation.

New Jersey is another State which prohibits separate schools. But in East Orange, as early as 1906, we find a separate school for the Negroes established. Despite the law, several of the towns in New Jersey, as Haddonfield, Lawnside, Merchantville, Moorestown, etc., have established and maintain separate grammar grade schools for the Negroes.

In regard to discrimination against the Negroes in schools of Philadelphia, Dr. DuBois writes: "The chief discrimination against Negro children is in the matter of educational facilities. Prejudice here works to compel colored children to attend certain schools where most Negro children go, and to keep them out of private and higher schools."

There is a great deal of prejudice against mixed schools in eastern Pennsylvania. In Philadelphia and Chester the tendency is distinctly toward segregation. In both cities practically all the Negroes go to a few schools in or near their settlements, which schools are attended by very few if any whites. In Chester the races are very definitely separated in the elementary schools, but in the high school both races go together. Separate schools for the Negroes were established in Chester about fifteen years ago. One of the men who was very influential in getting the separate schools established told me how they proceeded. He said: "Oh, you have to be very diplomatic. Some of us went to some of the influential Negroes and told them, conditions

being as they were, we thought it would be better to establish some separate schools for the colored people in the lower grades. That would give some of the colored people positions as teachers in the colored schools. They agreed to this and they were established." But about five years ago, when they tried to establish a separate high school for the Negroes, there was such strong opposition on the part of the Negroes that the school was not established. This, however, is only delayed, as there seems to be great opposition on the part of the school officials, teachers, and students to having a mixed school. One would not expect such opposition in a school where less than 50 of the 800 students are Negroes. In this school, as in many of the other mixed schools, the Negroes are often mistreated and insulted. The whites will not sit by them in class or assembly without showing strong opposition. Some students will tell you frankly that they will not sit by a Negro, that they will go home before they will sit by them. And there is always a general row as to who will have to sit by the Negroes during commencement exercises.

On one of my investigation trips in Chester, I met a business man of the city who had moved there some years before from New York State. He was very bitter against the Negroes. He had refused to buy a group picture for his boy of his class in the elementary school because there was one Negro in his class. He told me he would not have the picture of any Negro in his home. He requested the teacher of his boy to have the Negro put out of school. This case is no exception as I found later. Any investigator can find in any Northern city with a considerable Negro population plenty of cases of this kind in a few days, and find them among Northern born and bred men.

I have said that Pennsylvania prohibits separate schools, but the law seems to be ineffective, for Professor N. C. Schaeffer, late Superintendent of Public Instruction of Pennsylvania wrote me: "In Carlisle and in several other places we have separate schools for the colored people. Some of these towns where separate schools have been established are Coatesville, Frankford, Germantown, Lansdown, Sharon Hill, West Chester, etc. In Swarthmore, where the Negro population is only about 200, race prejudice is so strong that they now have in the school a Negro teacher who has all the colored pupils in one class room. Lans-

down has a Negro population of about 300, but with such a few Negroes, race prejudice is so strong that there is no record of a colored child graduating in the public school in the last 25 years.

Greater New York Consolidation empowered the school boards (1898) to establish schools for colored people. In 1898 and 1899 in the borough of Queens, when the school board for that borough was established, two colored schools were in existence, one in Flushing and one in Jamaica. In Jamaica there had been trouble for some time because of the refusal of a colored man to send his children to the colored school. This controversy finally led, in 1900, to the passage of a law upon the initiative of Governor Roosevelt amending the consolidated school law of the State and abolishing colored schools except in the rural districts. The two schools referred to, it is believed, were the last schools, maintained in the State with the exception of one at Hampstead, Long Island. The present legal regulation provides that separate schools may be established if the local authorities vote to do so. We may feel sure separate schools are being established. Mr. Baker says: "In Northern cities like Indianapolis and New York, * * * separate schools have appeared, naturally and quietly, in districts where the Negro population is dense."[21]

From Sheffield, Massachusetts, near Boston, comes the report that white persons complained because of mixed schools. The school board then organized a separate school for the Negroes with a Negro woman as the teacher. To this, the Negroes objected and refused to send their children to the Negro school. A Negro lawyer took the case to the courts. But the courts sustained the board of education in their action. It seems strange that the sons of famous abolitionists would object to their children going to school with Negroes.

From Chester, Philadelphia, Chicago, New York, and many other Northern cities comes the complaint that Negroes either refuse to enter the high schools or drop out before completing the course. In the South it is different; here about all they ask is to be given a chance and they will go to school. I think there are two reasons why the large number of Negroes do not attend the high schools in the North: They see no reason why they

[20] *Following the Color Line*, p. 306.

should continue longer in school. Education fails to secure for them a better position. If they secure a position in a store or hotel, it is a boy's job and in this job they must continue throughout life. Neither education nor energy will permit them to advance into a man's job. Some of the hardest questions asked me while I was teaching in a mixed high school in the North, were asked by Negro students in regard to courses of study, schools, and professions. One very black, yet quite intelligent Negro of the junior class told me he wished to be a chemist, and asked my advice. I told him that he was large and old enough to realize what the conditions are, and how race prejudice would hinder him in his work. It would doubtless be impossible for him to secure a position in the North. But if he would prepare himself, I thought, he could go South and secure a good position among his own people.

Then again, at the age the colored students reach high school they are old enough to really begin to understand race prejudice. Numerically, they are the smaller group, so they are crowded out of the games and shunned in many ways. Many times have I seen a few Negroes in a high school standing off by themselves, talking or trying to play, while the whites were all playing together. The whites do not like to sit by the Negroes; they do not like to walk with them or play with them; they will not eat with them; and when it comes to a class social the Negroes understand that they are not wanted, so they stay away. Rather than endure these things the Negroes refuse to attend high schools in the North.

2. In most States, business and trade schools are a law unto themselves. They are mostly private schools and few States make any provisions for private schools. They give ample opportunity for discrimination against the Negro. This discrimination began so very early that it seems to be generally understood that Negroes are not permitted to enter. I think it is for this reason that we find so few cases on record for the last few years. The Negroes tested the courts and found that the courts claimed no authority over private schools. So they decided that they have no more money to waste in this way. Of course there is a reason for their not trying to enter now. They now understand their economic position better than a few years

ago. So they do not care to spend their time and money completing a course when they know they will not be able to secure a position after they have graduated.

We cannot decry the owners of these schools for their discriminations. They know if they permit Negroes to enter their schools they will lose many white students. Then, if they are unable to secure positions for their graduates their pride is wounded and their school injured. There are many cases on record in the Juvenile Protective Association telling the results of educated Negroes who failed to find employment as stenographer, book-keeper, or clerk. One young man, a graduate of a technical high school, was sent with other graduates of his class to a large electric company where in presence of his classmates he was told: "Niggers are not wanted here." Because it is impossible for a Negro to get a position as book-keeper, stenographer, or clerk, Negro boys and girls in the high schools in the North refuse to elect the commercial and technical courses; and business and mechanical schools almost all over the North deny admission to Negroes.

3. Discriminations against Negroes in colleges and universities, in the North, seem to have increased very rapidly for the last few years. We hear of them in locations where one would hardly dream of discriminations as there are no visible causes.

The most famous case on record in any of the Border States is the Berea College case. Why the legislature of Kentucky, March, 1904, passed the law excluding Negro students from Berea College is quite a question. Dr. Frost writes me: "The agitation for a law excluding colored students from Berea College arose at the time a wave of feeling swept over the South following the famous luncheon at which Booker Washington sat with President Roosevelt. There were citizens of Berea also who fomented agitation because they believed that the exclusion of colored students would advance the price of real estate in the village. When the matter was once brought before the legislature it was difficult for anybody to oppose it without subjecting himself to opprobrium from the violent Negro haters in the legislature."

We are aware that after the famous luncheon the South rose up in anger. Newspapers printed an account of the act in large

headlines and petty politicians poured out their wrath on the President in such a manner as to make one believe that by a miraculous act some antediluvians had escaped the Flood. Doubtless the President did not imagine he was doing anything so bizarre or strange as to make such a pother. I do not mean to defend President Roosevelt in this act. Personally, I have no objections to whites eating with Negroes if they want to do so. I have eaten many a meal with Negroes both in the corn-fields of North Carolina and in Huston Club in the University of Pennsylvania. Eating with Dr. Washington did not injure President Roosevelt, either morally or socially, I am sure. But he should have had enough foresight to have seen that this act would cause the Negroes in the South to receive many injuries from the whites, and the whites to receive many insults from the Negroes. Indeed, the famous luncheon gave the politicians a new subject to discuss in order to stir up race hatred and thereby gain office.

There is another side to the Berea College case that eluded the casual inquirer, nevertheless, one that is held by many whites and Negroes in Kentucky. Many of the whites and colored people believe that President Frost was the first one to start the agitation to have the white and colored students separated in Berea College. They say that Dr. Frost saw that the school was going down financially, and that he could never build up the kind of a school he wished as long as the two races were together. I asked Dr. Frost if he were falsely accused. He replied: "I did *not* desire or promote actively or secretly that movement."

There were, perhaps, several things working together that caused the law to be passed, as, the famous luncheon, with the spread of the anti-Negro legislation in other States, in the hands of the politicians. Then there was a desire for advanced prices among some of the real estate dealers in Berea. There was also some published misrepresentations of the conditions among the students of Berea. These, however, the legislature declined to send a committee to investigate. And finally, perhaps, some of the authorities of Berea College wished to have the Negroes excluded, thinking they could build up a better school without the colored students.

Berea College, established on the old soil of slavery, freely admitted white and colored students for nearly forty years and without contamination or reproach, taught them in the same classes. It took a State law to separate the white and colored students in Berea College, but as we advance North we find many schools where it does not require a State law. Public sentiment forces the Negro out and when a case comes up in court the Negro loses the case. It has become very easy for judges in the North to find some technical point of law on which to base their decisions against the Negro.

When we examine a city like Cincinnati, we find that no Negro can attend the Eclectic Medical School, the Ohio Medical College or any other medical institution in the city. The Ohio Medical College is a part of the University of Cincinnati and supported by public taxation, but, nevertheless, Negroes are excluded. There is no law to this effect but it is according to public will.

When the Negroes began to migrate to Chicago, there was an increase of colored students in the schools. With this increase prejudice increased until several of the medical schools made an agreement and closed their schools to the colored graduate students. Negro settlers have increased and prejudice has increased until it is next to impossible for a Negro to get first class medical training in Chicago.

Even as far North as Grand Rapids, Michigan, and as early as 1908, we find that two Negroes were refused admission to the Grand Rapids Medical College, a private institution. A writ of *mandamus* compelling the school to admit them was issued. Thirty-four members of the junior class struck. The Supreme Court ruled that a private institution of learning, though incorporated, had a right to say whom it will admit. The city of Grand Rapids at that time had only 665 Negroes among her 112,571 inhabitants.

Des Moines, Iowa, had 86,368 inhabitants, 2,930 of whom are Negroes. In 1908 we find that the white students forced the color line to be drawn in Highland Park College. The Negroes claimed that it was the greatest set back they had had in Iowa.

Out of the forty-four colleges in Pennsylvania, one of which is for Negroes, sixteen report never to have had a Negro student. Several others report to have had one, or two, or three, and those

several years ago. The University of Pennsylvania, probably, has had more Negro students than any of the other higher institutions, but here they receive few if any honors. I have never seen one in any athletic game or contest. Even a Du Bois could not become a professor in that institution. Some of the religious schools as the Moravian Seminary and St. Vincent's College do not permit Negroes to enter. Crozer Theological Seminary has no Negro students. Some people seem to think it is due to the large number of Southern students there, but I believe the Northern students are just as much opposed to the idea as the Southern students. I really believe they were more bitter and showed less sympathy in their remarks than the Southern students. Many of the students from the South expressed their preference of going to school with Negroes rather than Italians, Poles, Russians, and some other foreigners.

Some of my Negro classmates in the University of Pennsylvania told me that their best friends in the University were Southern boys. The Northern boys were not so open with their prejudice, but used it where it counted. A Negro girl related before the class her experience with race prejudice. I wish to repeat it here as accurately as I can recall it:

She is the daughter of a minister in Philadelphia. Her home was in a white ward. In school she was the only Negro in her class, so she did not meet with much race prejudice in passing through the elementary and high school. When it came time for her to make arrangements to go to college, she found that most of her classmates were going to Bryn Mawr. They expressed their desire for her to enter with them, but when she went to stand the entrance examinations, she was informed that Negroes were not permitted to enter. She, then, looked for a college where she could go, finally selecting Cornell. She graduated from Cornell with the Phi Beta Kappa honor. She returned to Philadelphia to teach school, but the school board refused to employ her. She then went to work and finally secured a school, only to be turned out to make room for a white girl.

President Mackenzie of Hartford Theological Seminary tells me, "That at rare intervals we have received a Negro into the Hartford Theological Seminary. We have none at present. So

far as I know, there were no serious complaints on the part of the white students. In each case, however, the men were 'picked men'."

About a year ago a Negro made application to enter a theological seminary in the North. The school authorities not knowing what to do with the applicant, decided to leave it to the two Southern members of the faculty. These two men voted to let the Negro enter. Then the school authorities had to find another excuse for excluding the Negro. A member of the faculty of a Northern theological seminary said to me not long ago, "My father was a Southerner and a slave-owner, but I could not refuse to teach Negro students. I teach Italians, Russians, Japanese, and other races, why should I refuse to teach Negro students."

A short while ago the white students in a New Hampshire college treated a Negro student very badly. This was to give notice to other colored youths that they were no longer expected to enter that institution. And on April 30, 1919, two Negro students from Boston were tarred and feathered by the white students at the University of Maine, Orono, led through the streets of the town with halters about their necks, and chased from town.

The Bostonians have ever proclaimed their ideas of freedom and culture, which they wished to give to all races, and believed it the duty of every one to accept. But Boston is undergoing a change, in one thing at least——equal advantages for all races. Even the old historic Harvard University is changing. Harvard has been noted for its liberal policies toward the Negro, and has always given him exceptional advantages, but for the last few years many have noticed a changing attitude within Harvard. Notwithstanding the fact that the Negro students at Harvard have been law-abiding and never disgraced the institution, the lines have been drawn in the medical school and Negroes no longer receive the liberal treatment they formerly received in other branches of the University. Although a few years ago a Negro doctor was house physician at the Boston Lying-in-Hospital, Negroes students can no longer enter that institution. The medical school requires six obstetrical cases, but the colored students are not admitted to the Lying-in-Hospital, so they can

not get the degree. A few years ago President Eliot awakened much sharp comment among the Negroes of Boston, when, in an address, he indicated his sympathy with the general policy of separate education in the South by remarking that if the Negro students formed a large proportion of the students, a separation of the races might follow at Harvard.

4. As above noted, Harvard excludes Negroes from the medical school by excluding them from the hospital. If Harvard wanted the Negro students she could very easily arrange for them to get the required number of obstetrical cases, but they are not wanted and this method is used to exclude them. The medical schools in several of the cities of the North are using this same method to exclude the Negro students.

In Cincinnati, which is typical of other border cities, Negroes are not allowed to operate in Sexton Hospital, the large City Hospital, a public institution, or in any of the better hospitals of the city. Sometimes Negroes are received into segregated wards in the City Hospital, but they cannot have a physician of their own race attend them. In the Children's Home, a large public institution, Negro children can stay but twenty-four hours. In the reformatories, city and county prisons, and city work-house, they separate the white and colored as much as they possibly can.

Preventing Negroes from operating in the hospitals is a serious drawback to the race. It often shuts them out of schools where they would get the best hospital training and medical instruction. This they should have ,for they go to practice, generally, among their own race, a race whose death rate far exceeds the death rate of the whites, and a race which has some diseases almost peculiar to it. For these reasons they should have the best medical and hospital training that science affords. It would probably be advantageous for the Negroes to have a large graduate medical school where they could study diseases which are more common among their race. Disease germs have no race prejudice, and the diseases which attack the Negro to-day will attack the white race to-morrow. It seems that it is time for the white people to realize that the great inroads of such diseases as tuberculosis and fevers can never be stopped until the Negroes are trained in modern methods of scientific

sanitation. In order to lower our death rate we must train the Negro and help him to lower his death rate. The two races in America are tied together and the progress of each depends upon the other and must be made together.

West Virginia requires that the white and Negro inmates of her reform school for boys shall be kept separate, and the industrial home for girls as far as possible. New York has on many occasions made appropriations for asylums for Negro children. Regardless of the law, she leaves the impression that Negroes are not admitted to the asylum for the white children. All through the North, wherever there is a considerable number of Negroes, separate institutions have sprung up for the Negro children. And while there are a number of institutions that will admit Negro children, they usually find some excuse for sending them to the institutions maintained by their own race. This spirit of separation has grown rapidly within the last fifteen years.

Some of the States go as far as to train their soldiers separately. In 1889, West Virginia provided that, if any colored troops should be organized, they should be enlisted and kept separate and apart from the other troops, and should be formed into separate companies and regiments. In 1895, New Jersey made provisions for four companies of colored infantry. This evidently means that they were to be kept separated from the whites. When our troops were on the Mexican border, I am informed that there was not a Negro among those from the New England States nor from New York State. In training our soldiers for the European war, the Negroes were kept apart from the white soldiers.

While I am not dealing with institutions of relief and punishment, as they can hardly be considered as institutions of learning, since little or no instructions along educational lines is given in them, I wish to say in passing, that in my opinion the Negro race, both North and South, is sadly neglected along this line. In many places the Negroes are shut out of the white institutions of relief without any institutions of their own. In places where institutions have been established for Negroes, they are often poorly equipped and sadly neglected. The Negroes have established homes for their aged in New Haven, Boston, Springfield, Providence, New Bedford, New York, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Jersey City, Wilmington, Baltimore, Washington, Leavensworth

and Evansville, Indiana. The sad neglect of the Negroes on the part of the whites forced the Negroes to establish these homes.

For some years after the Civil War the subject of Negro education divided the whites, roughly, into three classes: One class, chiefly in the South, thought it useless to try to educate the Negroes. They believed the minds of the Negroes incapable of being developed. Another class, in both North and South, believed the Negro capable of grasping an elementary education only. The other class, chiefly in the North, believed the Negro capable and worthy of receiving a higher education. The last class has now absorbed many of the other two classes. Yet there are a few who cry out in glowing headlines against Negro education, but they seem to have more prejudice than sound judgment and their proofs are based on fallacies in their own minds. Outside of yellow journalism, we seldom see such lavishness of language wasted on such a hoary dogma. To be sure there are hundreds of Negroes incapable of grasping an education, and there are also hundreds of whites in the same predicament. But a philosopher and a fool may not only be members of the same race, but of the same family.

The Negroes themselves are divided on the subject of the Negro's ability to develop. Mr. Wm. H. Thomas says: "Whatever the freedman has achieved in the way of intelligence and character is due to alien qualities incorporated into his being through race amalgamation."[21] But Dr. Washington says: "The Negro is behind the white man because he has not had the same chance, and not from any inherent difference in his nature and desires."[22] And again Thomas says: "No one denies that the Negro is environed by a network of prejudice, many of which are the results of his acts. But were all racial antipathy instantaneously eradicated, he would still be inferior to the white man in many respects, not only on account of racial differences in color and development, but also because of whatever creates inequality whether it be houses, land, clothes, food, or personal dexterity and culture."

I think we all agree that the Negro as a race is not equal to the

[21] *The American Negro*, p. 409.

[22] *The Future of the American Negro*, p. 26.

white race. The Negroes realize that numerically they are the weaker of the two races except in the "Black Belt," and intellectually the less developed. But who says they will always remain so? I have very little respect for the intelligence of the man who doubts the capacity of the Negro for improvement or usefulness. The trouble with some people is they expect the Negro to develop in fifty years to the state of civilization that it has taken the white man hundreds of years to reach. The chief trouble we have regarding the Negro is we have no standard for comparison. Probably, if we knew the rate of progress of other primitive people we should find the progress of the Negro remarkable.

The psychologists tell us that the brain of the white man is heavier than the brain of the Negro man, but the brain of the Negro man is heavier than the brain of the white woman. The brain of the tribal African or Australian weighs less than the brain of the American Negro. Who knows how rapidly brain weight develops anyway? Quite often the foreigner coming to this country will, in three generations, have a change in head formation and an increase in brain weight. But, then, no one knows how much of the brain we use in thinking.

When it comes to comparing the white and colored children in schools, regardless of how the tests have been made the white pupils made the best showing. It seems that the Negro children advance more rapidly in separate schools than in mixed. This seems like an argument for separate schools. It is possible, however, that the system of grading was not as strict as in the mixed schools. When I first began to teach in a mixed school, I found that many of the teachers had one standard for the white pupils and a lower standard for the colored pupils. Some of them said the Negroes would never be able to pass if they held them to the same standard as the white pupils, but I found that the Negroes averaged very well with the white pupils. The superintendent of the city schools of a certain city in the North, told me he did not like mixed schools, that he had been dealing with mixed schools for twenty-five years and he had found only one colored student that was worth "bothering with." It may be that the races will make better advancement in separate schools but I hardly think so. I believe that education and culture are

centripetal as well as centrifugal processes. I think the chief cause of retardation of Negro pupils is their home, economic, and social life. The Negro in the North lacks incentive. Very little is offered the educated Negro in the North. Most of the Negroes are poor and it is about all many of them can do to survive the economic conflict in the North. What time they have off from work they want to get together and have music and dancing and a general "big time." Environment counts for much in the life of the Negro student, but heredity also has a part to play and it plays it well. Considering all the disadvantages the Negro has had to overcome, it is marvelous how rapidly he has developed, and how well he holds his own against the progressive white race.

In a discussion with a Northern educator about the change in race relationship he said: "I know you are wrong on one part, however, *viz.* the interest of the South in the development of the Negro. I see no evidence in increased expenditure for education —the one thing necessary of any special interest." As a reply I wish to give the figures of two representative States: In comparing the Negro school conditions in 1910–11 with 1915–16, in ten typical counties in Virginia, it was found that the number of teachers had increased from 313 to 352. The proportion of teachers to school population was reduced from one teacher for 88 children to one teacher for 80 children; the average length of term was increased from 106 days to 121 days; the amount spent for teachers' salaries was per capita of school population (7 to 20 years) increased from $1.40 to $2.01. In North Carolina the value of colored public school property in 1904 was $237,768; in 1914 it was $1,021,736. The total amount spent for Negro public school teachers' salaries in 1904 was $234,625; in 1914 it was $484,114. The average term for Negro schools in 1904 was 16 weeks, in 1914 it was 23 weeks. There are now employed 36 Negro rural supervisors in the State, and 18 county teachers' training schools, have recently been established. During the last two years $8,000 was spent for building rural Negro school houses. In order to use this $8,000 about $30,000 had to be raised out of the local and county funds.

It is estimated that the South has spent more than $200,000,000 for Negro public schools in the last thirty years, and is now

spending over $4,000,000 annually for the same purpose, most of this, of course, from white taxpayers. In Delaware the public school money is proportioned according to the racial percentage of taxes. As a result of this policy the Negroes are not able to maintain rural schools and the children that live in the country are thus deprived of an education. But in the South the money is distributed according to general population and needs. The South has and is expending large sums of money for the education of her Negroes. I believe the South is vitally interested in Negro education and is becoming more so every day. Dr. Weatherford writes me: "I think there is no doubt but that the Southern Border States are making a larger effort to help the Negro than ever before. Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee all have supervisors of rural schools for Negroes, all of them being exceedingly choice Southern white men who are prominent in educational work. In addition, there are many good school buildings being erected for the colored schools and a great deal of general work is being done. This is just one indication of the increasing interest of these States."

Booker T. Washington, probably, did more to change the attitude of the South toward the Negro and Negro education than any one man. He advocated industrial education for the Negroes and that is the kind the South believes in, for here is where the Negro has made the greatest success. Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes and some other schools have been great forces in changing sentiment toward Negro education. At first, the white South looked upon Negro schools with suspicion, but gradually they have come to accept them as agents for good. The Northern whites made grave mistakes in their early efforts at educating the Negro. These mistakes caused the South to become very suspicious of the educated Negro. Many of them thought education made a criminal out of the Negro, but they later found this to be untrue. Dr. Washington often said in his speeches: "Not a single graduate of the Hampton Institute nor of the Tuskegee Institute can be found to-day in any jail or State Penitentiary." The students at Hampton and Tuskegee are trained to work and make an honest living. An incident is told of two Tuskegee students going to a town in Georgia and taking the contract for a job of plastering. They hired a white man to

carry mortar for them at a dollar per day and when the job was finished they had averaged four dollars per day each. It was admitted to be the best job of plastering in the town and the white people tried to get them to stay there, but they went back to school to complete their course. One little incident as this makes many friends for a Negro school, and it seems that about every graduate of these schools goes out advocating better race relationship. They do nothing to offend the whites and strive to help their own race. Gradually they are winning the friendship of the white South by their manly, industrious, progressive, Christian qualities. What would the South be in twenty-five years if she had 200 or even 100 schools like Hampton and Tuskegee, sending forth well trained industrious boys and girls? These graduates are not committers of crime, but the enemies of crime. They are up-builders and not down-tearers. How much better it is to spend our money in such institutions rather than in courts, penitentiaries, jails, punishing Negro criminals! How much better it is to spend $100 toward educating an ambitious young Negro, than have him become a criminal, a destroyer of property, a murderer of human beings, and a demoralizer of society!

In the North many of the best educated and most cultured Negroes do not seek to elevate the masses of their race. The existing conditions disgust some of them, as the author of *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man,* so that they curse every drop of Negro blood that flows through their veins, and eke out an existence of little worth to the masses of their race. In the South the best of the Negroes remain with their race faithfully trying to elevate it. This class of Negroes coming in contact with the better class of whites is bringing about a great change. Leaders of both races meet to-day and discuss the problems of the two races, often from the same platform. While it was an unheard of thing a few years ago for Negroes and whites to meet in the same building and speak from the same platform, it is a very common thing to-day and is done when any subject is to be discussed that is of mutual interest to both races, and done in such a way that the Negro feels no humiliation.

The Civil War and Reconstruction Period left the South financially and economically bankrupt and socially disorganized. From this chaotic condition she has had to recuperate. She has

had many differential and integral problems to solve, and she has many more to solve. She is working patiently at their solution. Just now she is trying to solve the great puzzle of what kind of an education is best for the Negro child. She realizes that she must solve her problems herself; she knows not where to turn for help. The South has received a great deal of advice and information, regarding the Negro, from the North, especially the New England States, all of which was worthless. If the white people of the North understand the Negro so well, why is it they become so bitter against him after a few weeks in the South? If 1,000,000 Negroes cause the North to flash forth such vivid pictures of race prejudice, what would they do in their idiosyncrasies with 11,000,000 more? The Northern white man living in the South is usually a bitter enemy of the Negro.

I feel that the South is doing about all she can toward the education of the Negro. She does not possess the wealth which the North possesses. She is burdened with taxes. Three months of school burdens Mississippi more than ten months burdens Massachusetts. Of our payment of pensions—running up to $130,000,000 a year—the South bears her proportion, though it is paid to men for fighting against her, and she makes no remonstrance. Is it not simple justice, is it not a matter of national conscience and honor that the whole nation should help her in educating the future citizens of the Republic? I think our school system would be more satisfactory if managed by the National Government rather than individual States.

It is true that the Negro child does not learn and develop as rapidly as the white child, but he is developing and learning and making progress all the time. It is just as essential for the Negro to have equal advantages for development as for any other prospective citizen. If we hold a man in a ditch we must stay there with him. When we hinder the development of the Negro, we diminish ourselves, hinder the development of our nation, and violate the ethics of Jesus. We should by all means give the Negro child a chance to develop fully, for he is to be a citizen to-morrow, and on his training depends much whether he will be a progressive citizen or a criminal.

## CHAPTER IV

## RACE DISTINCTIONS IN PLACES OF PUBLIC ACCOMMODATION

It was difficult to find an all-comprehensive heading for this chapter. However, I think the heading will give some idea of what the chapter contains, and I also feel that it is broad enough to cover the subjects which I wish to discuss under it. In this chapter I wish to examine race prejudice as it is portrayed in our dealing with the Negro in railroad and street cars; hotels and restaurants; theatres and motion picture shows; barbershops and bootblack stands; skating-rinks and pool-rooms; parks, etc.

1. The first "Jim Crow" cars were run in Massachusetts in 1841. In 1866 Massachusetts made it unlawful to discriminate against any one on account of color in public conveyances. The term "Jim Crow" was used to designate cars set apart wholly for the use of Negroes. Massachusetts had her "Jim Crow" cars for a long time to herself. It was not until 1865, when Florida and Mississippi passed their laws, that "Jim Crow" cars made their appearance in the South. These two States were followed by Texas the next year.

About this time a reaction seems to have set in against "Jim Crow" cars. Whether this was due to Reconstruction influences or other forces I am unable to say, but in 1870 Georgia passed a law prohibiting any discrimination against Negroes on cars. The next year Texas repealed her "Jim Crow" law and made it unlawful to make such discriminations. Louisiana, in 1873, passed a law against discrimination on cars. She was followed by Arkansas the next year. Before 1875, I think we are safe in saying, Negroes were often ejected from cars and refused passage in many of the Northern and Western States as well as the Southern States. This is true in States like New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Illinois and Iowa; and it often happened in cities as in San Francisco, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and Chicago.

With the exception of transient "Jim Crow" laws of Florida, Mississippi and Texas (1865–67), for many years after the Civil War whites and Negroes were crowded together in the same coaches. It was found from experience, according to the statements of some, that this commingling of the two races was the cause of frequent breach of the peace and not seldom, murder. The fault seems to have been sometimes with one race and sometimes with the other. Whether this commingling of the two races in the cars was a cause of crime is an open question. It was probably the cause of some crime for when the lower classes of these two groups come in close proximity there is usually a clash. However, it gave room for discussions and theories, and was probably one of the chief causes of our present "Jim Crow" laws.

Tennessee was the first State to adopt a comprehensive law separating Negro and white passengers on railroad cars. This law was passed in 1881. For six years the other States waited to see how the law would work in Tennessee. Florida followed Tennessee in 1887; Mississippi, 1888; Texas, 1889; Louisiana, 1890; Alabama, Kentucky, Arkansas and Georgia, 1891. Then there was another period of hesitancy, and it was eight years later when South Carolina passed her law. North Carolina passed the law in 1899; Virginia, 1900; Maryland, 1904; and Oklahoma, 1907. Missouri and West Virginia are yet without any "Jim Crow" laws, athough there has been some agitation for the law in both, especially in West Virginia.

Most of these States differ some in the letter of their "Jim Crow" laws. Oklahoma and Texas forbid the railroads carrying sleeping and chair cars jointly for the races. Texas, however, insists on equal accommodations for the two races. The two races have to be separated in Pullman cars in Georgia, but the railroads do not have to carry Pullman cars for Negroes. The "Jim Crow" law does not apply to Pullman cars on through express trains in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, nor to through vestibule trains in South Carolina. Maryland, Oklahoma, Texas and Virginia do not require freight trains carrying passengers to have separate coaches for the races. South Carolina exempts the narrow-gauge roads. In North Carolina, the railroad commissioners have power to exempt branch lines

and narrow-gauge roads from "Jim Crow" requirements. All the States make provisions for colored nurses and servants accompanying white people.

In most of the Southern States the separation of the races is also required on boats carrying passengers within the waters of the State. Each State law may differ, but in most of them a provision is made for the separation.

Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma and South Carolina require separate waiting rooms for the Negroes and the whites. The waiting rooms are usually in the same building, side by side, but separated in small stations by a wall, in many of the larger ones by a "fence." The railroads have usually found it better to build separate waiting rooms in the Southern States where the laws do not require this. There are, however, many small waiting rooms in several States in the South, where there is no separation of the races; and in some of the larger towns, as Covington, Ky., there are no separate waiting rooms. In most of the stations, which have separate waiting rooms, the room for Negroes is equal to the one for the whites. The Union Station, 10th and Broadway, Louisville, Ky., has the poorest accommodations for the Negroes in comparison with the accommodations for the whites that I have found in my travels. Here the Negroes go through the main waiting room where the whites remain, but the Negroes are put off into a small room in one corner. They are permitted to go out into the main waiting room for tickets and water but cannot remain out there.

The "Jim Crow" cars come under no one general description. I have occasionally seen a car for colored people as clean as any day coach for whites. But many of them are far below the average car for white people. Often the Negroes are given a whole car or more than one car to themselves on the train—according to the demands. But on some trains where there are not many Negroes they are given the section of the baggage car which is used in the North on branch lines as a smoker. The "Jim Crow" cars are hitched close to the engine. Naturally, this would cause them to catch more smoke and soot. It seems that the railroad officials put forth very little effort to keep the Negro coaches clean or sanitary, and they seem not to regard order or decency as essential for Negro coaches. In these coaches

the Negroes are all thrown together, the educated, cultured, refined, wealthy, with the coarse, rough, ignorant, poor and vulgar. Of course the same classes of whites ride together in the same coaches, but in the white coaches roughness is suppressed and order maintained. In the Negro coaches, the rough element often smoke, drink, curse, and fight to their own satisfaction, fight in the presence of the refined members of their race, and often without any interference of the officials. If the cultured Negro woman has to make a trip in one of these coaches she often reaches her destination, sick and discouraged, and with her dress and hat ruined. Most of the day coaches for white people on Southern trains are not fit for decent people to ride in.

Some of the trains do not carry Pullman cars for Negroes, so if a refined Negro woman wishes or has to make a trip during the night, she is forced to go in a "Jim Crow" day coach, sit up all night in surroundings which are far from being conducive to cleanliness and good morals. Yet, we say "Niggers are dirty" and force them altogether, both educated and illiterate, refined and rough, moral and immoral with little or no regard or protection for the better element of the race. Consequently, we know little about the educated, refined, prosperous members of their race. As fast as they enter the better class, they withdraw into a world of their own—a world which lies all about us white people, yet of whose existence we are scarcely aware. It is largely the inefficient, the failures, or the immature and untrained who remain with us. We should see in the Negro, first of all, deeper than all, a man made in the image of God as truly as we ourselves. In some, less developed, to be sure, but whatever grows is growable, and anything which grows cannot develop normally and healthily, cannot do its best as long as it is crowded down into unwholesome environment by a stronger force.

If all the Negroes were neat and orderly and all the white men were gentlemen and all the white women were ladies, the tacit recognition of the color line as on the streets, in the stores, in the court-room, or at the ball game would obtain without law. But we are far from that and until we approach it far nearer than what we are it seems necessary to have legal separation to establish formal lines in order to save friction, protect the Negro *en route*, and keep him out of the courts. Probably, if we had

never begun this separation we would be getting on just as well to-day as we are. I do not, however, believe the Negro objects very seriously to legal separation, but he does object to paying first class fare and getting second and third class service. We cannot blame him for this; he would not be human if he did not object. I do not think the agitation for strict separation is half as keen as it would appear on the surface. Sometimes Negroes ride all day and all night through Southern States in Pullman cars with whites, their presence known to all the white passengers, none of whom voice any objections. I have traveled through Southern States several times in Pullman cars in which there were some Negroes and I never heard any of the white passengers voice any objections. Naturally, we would not expect the Negroes to object, as they are getting equal accommodations for their money, and the class of whites who ride in Pullman cars would not be expected to object, since it is chiefly the lower class of both races that causes trouble in the South.

Probably we would be relieved of many of our difficulties if we should adopt the European system of car service. As it is, we are penalizing the better class of Negroes. We condemn them as a race for not rising, but when the better class, who are rising, want better advantages and services we say they are "getting too big," However, I do not believe the remedy lies in a repeal of the "Jim Crow" laws, but rather in the proper education of both races, in the spread of the sentiment of fair play, and in the persistent and consistent insistence upon high moral standards. We can give the Negro equal accommodations and equal advantage on fast trains, Pullman cars, etc., and still be separate, but I do not believe he will have it until public sentiment forces the railroad companies to do so. Until the lower classes of both races are developed far above their present status, it seems necessary for some legal separation. But these classes are developing and I feel that in the distant future our religious, ethical, and social ideas may be quite different from what they are to-day. On the other hand, it is possible for us to develop a caste system as in India; and it is possible for us to call it Christian. But as long as we have the "Jim Crow" coaches we should not use them as a means of retarding the progress and development of the Negro race.

As to whether the "Jim Crow" legislation will spread beyond its present boundry, it is impossible to say. The great influx of Southern Negroes into the North for the last three years will doubtless call forth some radical anti-Negro legislation in the near future. The probability is that the "Jim Crow" car may be part of it. I heard a prominent Negro educator lecture some time ago. In his speech he said the North had gone back fifty years in her treatment of the Negro, and he would not be surprised to see "Jim Crow" cars running through Pennsylvania in ten years. A prominent Methodist minister told me he thought they should have "Jim Crow" cars in his State—Delaware. I have heard dozens of white people tell of the trouble they had on cars with "coons" and express a desire for separation on the cars. There is a strong tendency and desire toward separation in the Northern States and it may lead to "Jim Crow" cars.

Early one morning some time ago, I left Virginia traveling all day through West Virginia and Ohio. It gave me a splendid opportunity to see something of the relationship between the Negroes and whites on the trains in these two States. Early in the morning we crossed the Virginia line; the porter came through the car and removed the "white" sign, but no Negroes entered. Later, at one of the stations, the conductor stepped away to transact some business and while he was away two Negro girls came into the car. They took a seat together near the front of the car. All day the seat in front of them and the seat immediately behind them remained vacant, though the other seats were usually about full. After we had stopped at two or three more stations and no more Negroes entered I wondered why. I noticed and found that the Negro porter stood at the entrance of the first car and showed the Negroes into that car.

Some months ago I was in Cincinnati. In the station I noticed that all the Negroes sat on one side. As I passed through the gate to catch a train going South, I noticed several Negroes passing through also. Now I had to see what would happen when the Negroes went to get on the train. I stopped a while by the side of the car and observed that a Negro porter was sending all the Negroes into the front car. I also observed that no Negroes entered the Pullman cars. I found out that the

ticket agent refused to sell Pullman tickets to Negroes on trains going South from Cincinnati.

These are some of the sentiments and some of the things which are at work in the North, where "Jim Crow"cars are not legalized. In the South, there are so many low class Negroes and so many of them on trains that separation seems necessary at present at least, but in the North, most of the Negroes are of a better class—a class far superior to the ordinary Negro found in the South. In the North it is pure race prejudice that causes separation. It is not because the Negroes are so low in morals, rough, poorly dressed or illiterate, for they are not. However, there is a strong desire for separation and it may soon be legal.

On boats also the desire for separation manifests itself. Some boats have a Negro section, others have an invisible line for the colored and white passengers. On the boats between Baltimore and Washington a Negro is not allowed to rent a state-room unless it is either by the hot smelling pantry, the noisy paddle-box, or under the booming whistle, where it is almost impossible for him to sleep. Yet he has to pay the same price as a white man pays for the good rooms.

Separation of the two races in street cars appeared in the South in 1891, when Georgia passed her law of separation. Louisiana followed in 1902; Mississippi, 1904; Tennessee and Florida, 1905; Virginia, 1906; North Carolina and Oklahoma, 1907. In practically all of the Southern States the two races are separated in street cars. In part of them it is a State law; in others it is left to the cities and towns to pass such regulations as they see fit. In some cities, as Louisville, the act failed to pass. The attempt to separate the two races in the street cars in Washington City aroused the animosity of the Negroes to boiling heat.

In all the Northern cities street cars are open to both races without any legal separation. Nevertheless, Negroes sometimes find it dangerous to ride with white people. In Philadelphia, Chester, New York and other Northern cities street cars are occasionally attacked by white boys and men and the Negroes beaten. Indeed, such shouts as: "Kill the Negro!" "Lynch the Negro!" are not uncommon in the North to-day. A Negro lurched against a woman who held to a strap on a trolley car in New York City. She told him to be more careful with himself.

He struck her, breaking her nose and blackening her eyes. A mob of men tried to lynch him but he was rescued by the police. Colored people and white seldom sit together in seats in cars if there are any vacant seats, and I have heard hundreds of complaints about Negro men pushing themselves in before white women and keeping their seats and letting white women stand up on crowded cars. The crowded street car is often a source of friction between the whites and Negroes in Northern cities.

2. We have seen that the Negro is somewhat handicapped in traveling on railroads and street cars. When it comes to hotels and restaurants we find him much more handicapped. In the South the Negro understands that he must go to the hotels, boarding-houses and restaurants maintained for Negroes. There are enough Negroes in the South to make it possible to maintain hotels, restaurants, etc., in almost every town for Negroes. But in the North there are not so many Negroes, and not so many of them traveling as in the South. Then according to law, in the North, they are supposed to be equal to the whites and have the same privileges. But what are the conditions in the North? For convenience I treat hotels, restaurants, etc., together.

In Baltimore, the Negro must have a separate bar, he cannot go to the white man's hotel, restaurant, or soda fountain. In Milwaukee, a Negro, after sitting in a restaurant for forty minutes, was told that he could not be served because he was a Negro. A Negro went into a restaurant in Detroit and asked for accommodations. The clerk told him he could not be served on the restaurant side, but if he would go on the saloon side he would be served. A Negro was serving on the jury in a town in Iowa. The bailiff had arranged with a boarding-house to serve meals. But when the jurors went for their meals, the boarding-house keeper refused to permit the Negro to sit at the same table with the white men. A keeper of an ice-cream parlor in New York charged a Negro a dollar for a ten-cent plate of cream. The judge declared that ice-cream parlors do not come under the list of places of public entertainment and amusement.

Practically all Northern States have laws forbidding any discrimination between the races, but racial adjustments are not determined by laws. Many discriminations are made daily in

defiance of the laws, because the white people know that public sentiment and the courts are on their side and they will win if a case is carried into court, and the Negroes know, by experience that they will lose if they carry the case to court. Up to a few years ago the Negroes gained most of their cases in courts, but that time has passed.

There are many hotels and restaurants through the North where it is known that Negroes will not be served. In other restaurants the Negro is ignored; if he complains, it is explained as an oversight. To save his feelings he does not go again to that restaurant. In many restaurants the waiters put a spoonful of pepper into the milk and a spoonful of salt into the coffee sold to a Negro; or charge him five times the regular price for a sandwich, and give him a glass of dish-water to drink. I know of no first-class restaurant in any Northern city that will serve Negroes. I have asked many of the proprietors how they kept the Negroes out. The common reply was, "Well you know according to law we can't refuse to sell to them if they insist, but we charge them so much that we are not bothered with them." The Negro pays one dollar for a ten-cent plate of ice cream and two dollars and a half for a fifty-cent dinner. But some of the restaurant keepers are now bold enough to tell the Negroes to go on some where else. I was standing near the entrance of a restaurant in a city in Pennsylvania. I saw two well dressed Negroes start to enter. Just then the proprietor said to them: "We don't serve Negroes here, you can find a place on down the street." It is almost universally agreed that these discriminations are increasing every year.

In several towns in Kentucky, as well as some of the other Southern Border States, I found Negroes and whites being served in the same restaurants. In some of the cheaper restaurants the Negroes and whites sit where they pleased; in others, the colored people use one side and the white people the other; and in others the colored people are served through the back way. Many Negroes run restaurants for white people.

Race prejudice has developed so in the North that many of the best men's furnishing stores, ladies' furnishing stores, shoe stores, etc., will not serve Negroes. I have observed in several towns and cities in the North, that the best stores, where the wealthy

white people trade, Negroes are not served under any consideration, even at *extortionate* prices. They say white people, especially white ladies do not wish to come in their stores when they see Negroes being served. I do not know a case of such discrimination in the South. In Louisville, as in other towns in the Southern Border States, I found that Negroes could go into the stores and buy any thing they had money to pay for excepting some of the best drug-stores, where they were excluded from the fountains. In some of the stores, however, they will not try on shoes or gloves for a Negro.

3. In the North when the Negro wishes to pass away some time in amusement or recreation, he is often perplexed to know what to do, owing to the uncertain attitude of public sentiment. According to law he has an equal right with white people to all places of amusement and recreation, as they are places of public accommodation. But according to public sentiment he does not usually have this right. He may be admitted; he may have to pay an advanced price; or he may be turned away with an insult.

When the Negro wishes to go to the theatre or motion picture show, he hesitates for he does not know what will take place after he gets there. Of course, practically all the high class theatres and motion pictures shows in the North exclude Negroes. However, there are certain second and third class shows which prefer to admit Negroes at advanced prices rather than exclude them altogether. If they admit them at an advanced price they are not liable to have a suit in court. To be sure, the Negro generally loses in court; still there are certain disadvantages attached to having a suit in court even if one is sure of winning. The higher class shows will endure a suit before they will admit Negroes. This attitude is more prominent in the Northern States near the border than in those farther South.

A colored woman was refused tickets to a theatre in Illinois. She then had a white man buy the tickets for her and her husband, but when they presented their tickets they were refused admission. In Kansas City, a Negro, mistaken for a white man by the clerk in the box-office, bought a seat in the orchestra of the theatre. When he presented his ticket the usher refused to permit him to occupy the seat called for, but offered him a balcony seat in exchange. He carried his case to court and lost.

A Negro brought suit against a theatre company in Cincinnati for refusing to sell him a ticket to the parquet section on account of his color. The lower court allowed the Negro damage, but the circuit court reversed the decision on the technicality that the Negro did not show that the company had instructed the ticket agent to refuse tickets to members of his race.

In this connection I wish to relate some of the experiences of four Negroes who were in a class with me in the University of Pennsylvania. All were mulattoes. Two were men and two were women. One of the men was from Jamaica, the other from Virginia. Both were ministers. They said they could walk down Woodland Avenue and come to a motion picture show, read the sign "5c.", but when they went to buy tickets the price suddenly went up and it was worth just five times as much for them to see the show as for white people, for they had to pay twenty-five cents each. But when they came to the main part of the city it was almost impossible for them to get tickets at any price. The Negro from Virginia said he was going back South for he received much better treatment in the South than he did in the North.

The other two were highly educated, cultured girls, who had traveled extensively in Europe. They said that often they could not get to see the shows for any amount of money. If they went to buy tickets themselves they were refused, and if they telephoned for tickets or got some white person to buy the tickets for them, when they got there, sometimes they were not permitted to enter; at other times they were told that they had secured tickets in the "white section," and could not be permitted to occupy them, but could have seats in exchange in the gallery—"Nigger heaven."

I have on many occasions been to the best theatres and motion picture shows in Philadelphia, New York, and other cities in the North, but I do not recall ever seeing a Negro present. In Chester, Pennsylvania, some of the theatres have recently established a separate section for Negroes. On the other hand, Negroes go to the best theatres in such cities as Louisville. I have seen them many times in Macauley's Theatre. And the Negroes can rent any of the theatres for commencements and other public exercises, if the whites are not using them. In some

of the cheaper motion picture shows in Covington, and some other places, the Negroes and whites all sit together.

When we consider it from a business point of view, we cannot blame the owners of theatres and motion picture shows for their treatment of the Negro. Northern people, especially the *upper* class, are far more opposed to sitting beside a Negro than the average Southerner supposes. It is simply a matter of business that causes them to exclude Negroes or give them gallery seats. If they admit Negroes they lose many of their white patrons, and this group they cannot afford to lose.

Neither can we blame the Negroes for wanting to go to these shows. The play is advertised to arouse the curiosity of the passerby. The Negro is as much aroused as the white person and has the same desire to go and see. Negroes, as a rule, do not wish to be intruders, but unless they "butt in" they do not get to see any plays or shows in most Northern cities. In practically all the towns in the South, Negroes either have theatres and "movies" of their own, or some provision is made for them to go to the white theatre or "movie." The privileges which are granted the Negroes in the South are well understood by both groups, and the white people seem just as much adverse to usurping the privileges of the Negroes as the Negroes are themselves. But in the North it is hard for the Negroes to know just what privileges are granted them. A Southern Negro traveling in the North said to me: "In the South we have our place, every body knows where it is, and no one takes it from us. But in the North, if we have a place, no one seems to know where it is."

4. Barbershops and bootblack stands are some more places of public accommodation where race prejudice is making headway.

In the South there are barbershops run by white men for white men, barbershops run by Negroes for the accommodation of white men, and barbershops run by Negroes for the accommodation of Negro men. Often both white and Negro barbers work in the same shop side by side. In the North we find some similar arrangement. The difference being that in the North Negroes are supposed to get accommodations in any barbershop; and but few Negroes ever get the chance to shave white men or cut their hair. There are not many Negro barbers in the North and their number is fast diminishing. They have lost their

position through prejudice and inefficiency. To-day the white American, German, Austrian, Italian, with the other foreigners have their trade.

I know of no barbershop operated by white men where a Negro can get accommodations. The Negro who wants a shave had better carry his razor along or seek the slums or out-skirts for a Negro barbershop. The barbers tell me that when a Negro comes in and insists on accommodations, they charge him a dollar and a half for a shave and two dollars and a half for a hair cut. He never comes again.

Race prejudice even goes farther in the North than a white barber shaving a Negro. One day I was walking down the street in a Northern city with a New Yorker. I asked him if he ever had a Negro shave him. He replied: "No, if I never get a shave until I get a Negro to shave me I will never have another the rest of my life." It took some time to convince him that I never made any difference, and at my home in the South, white men get Negroes to shave them just the same as they do white men, and as far as I knew no one ever thought of making any difference unless one did better work than the other; and that in some barbershops white and colored barbers worked side by side in the same shop. I thought his case an exception, but I later found that many Northern people take the same attitude toward the Negro barber. A "D.D.," who is well known through the North and West, and known in the South by his books, told me he would not have a Negro shave him, and he knew plenty of white men who were just like him in that respect. He gave as the reason, that Negroes have so many skin diseases. But I had a feeling that there was some race prejudice behind it even though he was a "D. D." and of English ancestry.

In the South the Negroes and the white boys are the principal "shoeshines." In the North the Negro has lost this job, and now it is chiefly in the hands of Italians and Greeks. While the Negro polished shoes in the North there was some prejudice against him. I had several Northern men tell me that they would not have a Negro to polish their shoes. Even the Italians sometimes refuse to shine a Negro's shoes. I have seen them refuse, and again I have seen them make the Negroes wait until all the white people were served. It is very common in the

South to see Negroes and whites polishing shoes at the same stand. I have seen them working side by side even as far North as Louisville.

In 1901, in Rochester, New York, a bootblack refused to black the shoes of a Negro. The New York law requires free and equal accommodations in hotels and "other places of public accommodations." The municipal court of Rochester gave judgment to the Negro. The county court reversed the decision. The appellate division reversed the decision of the county court and sustained the municipal. The court of appeals reversed the appellate decision thereby sustaining the county court, deciding that "other places of public accommodations" does not apply to bootblack stands.

5. Massachusetts, Illinois, and California have considered skating rinks of enough importance to include them in their Civil Rights Bill.

In 1885, in Iowa, a man refused to let a Negro use his skating-rink on account of his color. The Negro brought suit but lost the case. Several cases were brought into the courts of New York, where Negroes were excluded from skating-rinks used by white people.

In Chester, Philadelphia, New York, Chicago, and many other Northern cities, I find that Negroes are excluded from the best pool-rooms. I have never seen white and colored people playing pool together in any Northern city, or even playing in the same room.

6. In parks the color line is also being drawn in the North. It is strange that it should be drawn here as parks are usually very spacious, and the races do not have to come very close together, but the Northern whites do not seem to desire to be near a Negro, so they are drawing the line. Negroes are excluded from all of the popular parks in Cincinnati, and even from the Municipal Bath House. In Indianapolis they come in contact with the "bungaloo gangs," who beat them frightfully and run them out of the parks. In Chicago the white people, with ropes and guns, rid Gage Park of Negroes. The fearful race riot in Chicago last July was started because the white people were trying to drive the Negroes from a bathing beach. In this riot 34 lives were lost and 1500 were injured. At Clemington, New

Jersey—the Atlantic City for the poor—Negroes are allowed to go there but one day in the year. On the day the Negroes are permitted to go all the white people stay away. In Boston the Negroes are practically excluded from many of the parks, playgrounds, baths, hospitals, and museums. According to law they can use them, but they feel better when they do not try to use them. In such work as settlements, clubs and classes, there are many of the people of Boston that make it a rule to have nothing to do with the Negroes.

While the color line has not been definitely drawn in many of the public libraries in the North, it is generally understood that Negroes are not wanted and few make use of them. One of the librarians in the public library in Chester, Pennsylvania, told me that there had been but two Negroes in there in three months. After remaining in the public library in St. Louis for some time and seeing no Negroes in there I asked if they were excluded. I was told that they were not excluded, but were unwelcome.

When we turn South we find another force at work, one of coöperation. While the two races are and have been separated in public places, still there is a spirit of coöperation that is growing rapidly. In a number of Southern cities we find the white people and colored working together and establishing parks, public baths, public play grounds, etc., for the Negroes. *The Baptist World* August 7, 1919, says: "Since Chicago suffered from race rioting on the beach, *The Evening Post* of Louisville, has come out in favor of a public swimming pool for the Negroes. Why not? The principle of equality of rights under the law and the public good both call for it." In a small pool in Louisville used by the children, I saw both white and colored children bathing without the least bit of friction.

Louisville has two very good public libraries for Negroes. The Negroes can go to the three white libraries and get books or do reference work, but they do not use the general reading room. When the staffs of the different libraries have their joint meetings the whites and Negroes meet and sit together to discuss their mutual problems. In the public library in Lexington, Kentucky, the Negroes go among the shelves just the same as the white people, but they do not remain in the general reading room. In Covington, the Negroes use the public library just the

same as the white people. In Paris the Negroes use the public library, but they have no general reading room.

When it comes to parks, there is either no discrimination or some provision is made for the Negroes. I saw Negroes playing tennis and other games in several of the parks in Louisville. The only complaint I heard was, one Negro said that sometimes the white people took too many of the tennis courts. In the Willow Grove Park, Covington, the Negroes usually take the lower section. The famous Blue Grass Park near Lexington is used by the white people in the early part of the summer and by the Negroes the latter part. This is a great improvement over the conditions of a few years ago when the Negro had no such advantages. No one formerly thought such things were necessary for Negroes. But now both races are working together, slowly, of course, but steadily and determinedly, to develop the Negro give him a chance to have pleasure and recreation as the white people enjoy. The North is portraying a spirit of antagonism, the South a spirit of coöperation. Really I believe the two races are much closer together to-day in the South with all their laws of separation, than they are in the North with all their laws against separation.

## CHAPTER V

## RACE DISTINCTIONS IN THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL WORLD

In starting out to deal with the economic and political side of the Negro question I realize that I have an almost insurmountable task. The economic side of the question is very complex and has called forth grave comment. This is especially true in the North, and is becoming so in the South. On the other hand, the political side has been a very complicated and perplexing problem for the South and is becoming so in the North. The South's method of dealing with the problem has caused her to be severely criticized and condemned by the North. This is not true of all the North, but most of it. A few Northern men even agitated the using of armed force to stop the South in her seemingly wild career in dealing with the Negro. But now the sensible, wide awake, broad-minded men of both North and South are taking another view of the whole problem. What the outcome is going to be, it is impossible to forecast. With this as with all other political, social and economical questions, we can see what the present status is, what the tendency is, but as to what the future is going to be we can only surmise. I believe, however, that the next few years are going to find the Negro with far less political power in the North than the little he now has. At the same time, I think, he will gain political power in the South. He is fast gaining economic power in the South, and at present, due to the European War, he has more power in the North than formerly, but what is going to happen in the next few years is an unanswerable question. But before going farther I must turn to the respective subheads of this chapter.

1. I wish to deal, first, with the professional and business class of Negroes.

It is said that in India the populace is divided horizontally by caste and vertically by religion. In America race prejudice serves both as a horizontal and a vertical separation. Doubtless it is for this reason that the Negro race demands that its preachers, teachers, physicians, lawyers and business men shall for the most part be men of its own blood and sympathy.

When the Negro worshiper gained conscious self-respect he grew tired of the black pews and upper galleries of the white churches assigned him before the Civil War, and began to seek a place of worship more compatible with his sense of freedom and dignity. Hence there arose the Negro church and Negro clergy. Very early the Negro evinced a decided inclination, in some places, to "worship God under his own vine and fig tree." This spirit caused many Negro preachers, like Melchizedek of old, to spring into existence without announcement or preparation. This was the first professional class to arise and proportionally still the most numerous, there being some 17,495 of them in the United States. To-day the religious interest of the Negro race is almost wholly under the supervision of the Negro clergy. Outside of the Catholic Church it is about as difficult to find a white minister over a Negro congregation as it is to meet with the reverse phenomenon. The Methodist and Baptist churches include well-nigh the entire colored race and are wholly under Negro ecclesiastical control.

The Negro minister, as a professional man, we may say began before the Civil War. For a while he was looked upon with a bit of suspicion by the white slave owners, but since the war he has been gaining the confidence of the white people. He, as a professional man, does not have to come in contact with the white people as much as the lawyers, teachers, physicians, etc., so race prejudice does not affect his profession to the extent that it does the other professional men of his race. While he has never been permitted to become the pastor of a white congregation, yet he is freer to pursue his professional duties without meeting with much race prejudice. As I shall deal more at length on this subject in another chapter I shall leave it for the present.

The rise of the Negro teacher is due almost wholly to the outcome of the Civil War. The South believed in separation in schools as well as in other things. Hence a large class of Negro teachers were brought into the arena. This class has steadily increased until now there are some 30,000 thus engaged in the United States. These teachers are engaged mainly in the South. However, there are some in the North, but their number is very small. Their work in the South, and mainly in the North, is confined to teaching in Negro schools. There are, however, a few Negroes in the North teaching in mixed schools just as there are white teachers in the South teaching in Negro schools. The Negro teacher is finding it more difficult each year to secure a position in mixed schools in the North. The tendency is to shut them out completely, and I think it only a question of a few years until there will be no Negroes teaching in mixed schools.

According to the census for 1910, Maine had 1363 Negroes, but only six were teachers and three were ministers. New Hampshire had 564 Negroes, no teachers and only one minister. Vermont had 1620 Negroes, one of whom was a teacher, one a minister and one a physician. These Negro teachers may have been teaching in private schools. But with no more teachers among that number of Negroes in the Northern New England States, it seems to me, there must be some objections. I am sure there is a decided tendency to eliminate the Negro teacher from teaching in mixed schools in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. In cities like Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, and Chicago it is almost impossible for a Negro to teach in a school where any white children go. I am informed that in all the Chicago public schools there is but one Negro teaching in a mixed school. This one has been retained because she has been there for a number of years and rendered excellent service. As far as I know she is the only Negro teaching in a mixed school in the Northern Border States, and since Chicago is to have separate schools, as a result of the race riot, she will be transferred to a colored school. I have related in a previous chapter how a Negro girl was ejected from a school in Philadelphia to make place for a white girl. Other cases could be related if space permitted. We find no Negro as a member of the faculty of any of our higher universities, such as Harvard, Yale, Penn-

sylvania, Columbia, or Chicago, although they have men of many other races as members of their faculties. I haven't the least doubt that a man like Du Bois is as well qualified to be a professor in one of the universities as many of the men who are members of their faculties. Yet, one need not have a very great imagination to presage the outcome of a university which chose even a Du Bois, who is more white than black, as a member of its faculty.

The Negro physician has only recently entered the arena in sufficient numbers to call forth attention. At first it was with difficulty that the Negro physician gained a foothold in the medical profession. The white people, of course, would not employ him and the Negro patient refused to put confidence in him, notwithstanding the two were closely associated socially. Only as he was able to show his ability to treat diseases as successfully as the white physician was he able to overcome this feeling. While it was hard to overcome all this, nevertheless his success has often been little less than marvelous. Race prejudice probably gives him a few patients, yet if he did not secure as good results in treating diseases as the white practitioner he would soon find himself with no patients on whom he could demonstrate his skill.

The Negro physician is the best trained professional class the Negroes have. He has to take the same preliminary training and pass the same examinations as the white physician. This is also the case with the Negro lawyer and pharmacist, but the courses of study and the examinations for these professions are not as difficult as medicine.

The practice of the Negro physician is confined chiefly to members of his own race, unless he locates in a town where there are very few Negroes. Though I met some Negro physicians in Kentucky that told me they did a considerable practice among the white people. He is also hindered in another way. In cities like Cincinnati, Chicago, Philadelphia, New York and Boston the Negro is being shut out of hospitals. Not being able to operate in these hospitals is a serious handicap. He is not permitted to associate with the white members of his profession. They refuse to give him a consultant, and no white physician would think of having a Negro as a partner in the practice of his profession. The Negroes are not sufficiently organized and do

not have the money at their disposal to establish and maintain first class hospitals, yet this is what they will have to do. I feel that the Negro physician is surer of success in the South than in the North. Many of them are succeeding in a remarkable manner in the South, and are doing much to uplift their race, and are much respected by the white people. In the North some white physicians refuse to treat Negro patients, but in the South, I know of no white physician refusing to treat a Negro patient simply because he is a Negro. This is a test for the Negro physician and calls forth his best skill as he is constantly in competition with the white physician. In 1910 there were 3,177 Negro physicians in the United States. These were located mostly in the South.

The Negro lawyer has not been so fortunate as his medical confrère. The relationship between lawyer and client is more business like and not so personal and confidential as between physician and patient. Another element enters in to check the success of the Negro lawyer. The judge and the jury are white in some cases a mixed jury—and it is supposed that the white, lawyer has more weight with the judge and jury than the Negro lawyer. The Negro lawyer is to a remarkable degree overcoming this feeling and other racial feelings, but I doubt if he will ever be able to meet with the success with which his ministerial, pedagogical and medical confrères have met. Some Negro lawyers in the South as well as dentists and other professional classes do a considerable practice among the white people. A prominent Negro lawyer in Louisville told me that if he felt disposed to do so, he could confine his practice to the white people and have more than he could do.

The American Bar in 1912 had a serious disturbance when it was discovered that a Boston Negro was a member of the association. The president of the association was afraid the Negro—Mr. Lewis—might wish to attend the annual convention. The Negro was accused of getting elected by "misapprehension." Feeling ran high among the members, but after much debating the Negro was permitted to retain his membership.

In a certain sense the destiny of the Negro race in the United States hangs on the shoulders of these four professional classes. A far graver responsibility and a far heavier burden rest on these

professional Negroes than on the respective professional class of whites. The Negro preacher must meet every conceivable form of acquired as well as "original" sin. The Negro teacher has to meet with ignorance and pedagogical obtuseness in a more marked degree than the white teacher. The Negro physician must understand all the variety of diseases of the white people and the peculiar diseases of the Negro. The Negro lawyer's sphere covers the whole gamut, involving the right of person and property. These professional classes should have the best training which our higher institutions of learning are capable of giving. This is not only necessary for the conservation of the Negro, but for the whites as well. By reason of the stratum which the Negro occupies in our social scheme, the race is an easy prey for vice, crime and disease which affects the whole life of the Nation. Crime, vice and disease have no race prejudice;—they often do not stop to draw the line of social equality. If they make inroads upon the Negro to-day, they will attack the white man to-morrow. If it is necessary for us, a dominant race with a higher social environment, to be qualified with the best educational training, it surely is necessary for the professional Negroes to be also well qualified to serve as philosophers, guides and friends to over ten million unfortunate Negroes whom they have to serve in our midst.

Negroes also furnish a small quota of editors, pharmacists, authors, dentists, musicians, actors, artists, etc. Some of the best known writers in America for the last few years have been Negroes, such as Washington, Du Bois, and Kelly Miller. Negroes have been entering the different professions very rapidly for the last few years and have been meeting with success, yet they have less than one-fourth of their professional quota.

The Negro boy who becomes a pharmacist or a dentist and the Negro girl who becomes a trained nurse finds race prejudice retarding their progress. Unless the Negro pharmacist finds a position in a Negro drug store, he can find nothing to do. A young Negro pharmacist applied to an owner of a drug store for a position. He received the following reply: "I wouldn't have a Negro to sweep my store much less to stand behind the counter." The Negro dentist must practice among his own people and the Negro nurse must seek a place in a Negro hospital.

If the Negro enters the mercantile business or any similar business in the North, he finds himself in a struggle against race prejudice. The white people will not trade with him. This is not the case, however, in the South, for here one sees many white people patronize Negro merchants. But this is not the case in the North as many writers testify.

If Negro boys and girls complete a course in bookkeeping or shorthand or wish to secure a clerical position, who will employ them? He who would expect to find a Negro clerk in a white man's store or a Negro bookkeeper or stenographer in a white man's office is surely not acquainted with the conditions in the North to-day. Some years ago a Negro answered an advertisement for a clerk in the suburbs of Philadelphia. "What do you suppose we'd want of a Negro?" was the answer. Even in Boston some three or four years ago the authorities of vocational guidance work in Boston public schools decided not to teach stenography to young Negro women because investigation seemed to prove that positions would not be open to such women in Boston. Investigations seem to prove that the struggle of the professional and business Negro in the North is becoming more severe every year. On the other hand, these same classes have a much better opportunity in the South. Of course the white people do not employ these classes in the South very much more than formerly or any more than the North, but there are so many more Negroes in the South and they are developing so rapidly, so they have more opportunities.

2. Now let us see how the Negro is succeeding as a skilled and unskilled laborer.

I know of no Northern city where the birth rate of Negroes exceeds the death rate. Yet the Negro population is rapidly increasing in most of them. But even now Negroes form 1.72 per cent. of the population North of Mason and Dixon's Line. In this same boundary there are fourteen foreigners to every Negro, yet the Negro's economic struggle becomes more intensified as the years pass. In the North the Negro's economic problem is chiefly a problem of the city, but in the South it is more a problem of the rural districts. In the North 78 per cent. of the Negroes live in the cities and only 22 per cent. in the country. In the South this ratio is reversed. So the Negro of

the South is primarily a farmer, but in the North primarily a wage-earner.

Some one may say the Negro problem is primarily a problem in economic adjustment and that the Negro should be given such training as will fit him for a place in our industrial life. Give him industrial training in the broad sense of the phrase, such as will develop in him character and intelligence necessary for efficiency on the one hand and for citizenship on the other. Let him learn a trade. Dr. Washington and others have demonstrated the feasibility and practicability of such industrial training for the Negroes in the South on a large scale, and it has worked well there. What about the North, has it and is it working well there? What is the attitude of the labor unions toward the Negro?

In 1897 The American Federation of Labor reaffirmed an earlier declaration that "the working people must unite and organize irrespective of creed, color, sex, nationality or politics." In 1910, this was still its declared policy. Prior to 1900 the Federation, in its efforts to have all affiliated union carry out this policy, insisted that those unions desirings to enter the affiliation must eliminate the color clause from their constitutions and laws. For several years the International Association of Machinists was excluded because it refused to remove the word "white" from its constitutional qualification for admission. This same thing is said to have been at one time the chief obstacle preventing the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen from affiliating with the Federation. But within recent years these unions which deny admission to Negroes have not been excluded. In 1910 the following unions which explicitly exclude Negroes were affiliated with the American Federation of Labor: Telegraphers, Commercial Telegraphers, Railway Mail Clerks, Wire Weavers, Machinists and Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders.

Within recent years various instances of local discrimination against Negroes have arisen which exclude them from becoming members of labor unions. These instances are found, not only in the Northern border cities, but as far North as Detroit and Boston. This is either effected by denying them admission to the union of the white people, or by refusing to give consent to charter a representative Negro local union, or by rejecting a

Negro applicant holding a transfer card. The denial for admission to the white local union is probably the commonest cause operating to exclude Negroes. Very few unions welcome the Negro with open arms, although there are a few as in the mining districts of Alabama, and the Central of Georgia Railway, others, especially in the North, are sullenly indifferent, or admit only a few Negroes, if any. Most of the unions in Boston expressly forbid discrimination on the grounds of race, color, or religion, but the individual members of the unions grant that it would be next to impossible for a Negro to become a member. In Pittsburg there are only two trade unions that admit Negroes to membership. Some of the higher officials of the labor unions are greatly astonished when they learn that there are some white people that are interested in the Negro question.

When we turn to the South we find that a few years ago on the Georgia and Florida Railway the white and colored firemen struck for higher wages. Mobs of both white and colored men held up trains. The Negroes were as loyal to the unions as the whites and the strike was won. About the beginning of the year of 1913, the white carpenters in Key West, Florida, struck because two Negro workmen were discharged. The white members of the carpenter's union refused to return to work until the Negroes had been reinstated. These examples show us that the white and colored people belong to the same unions in the South, and that the Negroes make loyal union men, and that they are supported according to union rules by the white members of the organization. I have failed to find a single case on record where a worthy Negro was refused admittance into a labor union in the South.

I think two things are responsible for the development of antagonism between the labor unions and the Negro in the North. Often when the union men go out on a strike in the North, the employer sends South and has a supply of Negroes come up and work, employing them as strike breakers. Of course the Negroes should not be blamed very seriously for this; they are only following the white man's guidance. But the union men are trying to gain the strike and they do not want any one employed in their places. Some time ago a Negro went from Alabama to Philadelphia to work, driving a coal wagon for Geo.

B. Newton Co. He worked for three days as a strike breaker, but on the fourth day a brickbat falling on the side of his head from a fourth story window persuaded him to stop immediately his strike breaking career and make a swift hegira back to Alabama. The riot in East St. Louis is said to have been caused by Southern Negroes being imported to break a strike. Also it was one of the underlying causes of the trouble in Chicago. Then the laborer in the North does not like to work by the side of a Negro. There seems to be a general antagonism between the two races to the extent that the white workmen want nothing to do with the Negroes. The presence of these imported strike breaking Negroes causes race prejudice to develop very rapidly. The labor unions say they do not admit the Negro because he is not well trained and is not reliable, but the chief cause is the general antagonism between the two classes of laborers. In general the Northern white laborer is violently opposed to working by the side of a Negro. More than once it has happened that a Negro going from the South with a union transfer card has drawn his pay without being permitted to go to work on the job. When he was permitted to go to work all the white men quit, so it was better to pay him and let him walk the streets for a while, until he became disgusted or the job was finished, than to permit him to go to work and all the white men quit the job unfinished.

I heard a prominent Negro relate his experience when he first went North to get work. He is a bright mulatto, his grandfather being a white man, a former governor of North Carolina. Being a skilled mechanic, he went from Virginia to Philadelphia to work. He tried at many different places to get employment as a Negro, only to be refused at every place. They needed help but he was a Negro. He then decided he was so near white, he would try running the gauntlet on them. So he started out to get work as a white man and the first place he tried he got the job. He worked as a white man for five years and no one in the shop knew the difference. Finally, one day as he was walking up the street with the foreman, the foreman asked him something about the Negroes in the South. The mulatto then confessed that he himself was a Negro. On hearing this the foreman exclaimed: "My God, man! Don't say anything about that in the shop, for if you do every man I have will

quit work." But the mulatto was tired of playing Mr. Hyde and he soon decided to return to the full glory of Dr. Jekyll. He returned South and married a Negro wife.

We have seen that the Negro who is already a skilled worker has a hard time securing work at his trade in the North owing to the attitude of the unions and laborers in general. When it comes to the Negro boy in the North who wants to learn a trade, the industrial schools find that it is not worth while to give them industrial training because there seems to be no work open to them. If one applies for a position with electric or other industrial companies where he can go in and learn the business, he is informed that no Negroes, however promising, are wanted. It is fifty times harder for the colored boy to secure work of this nature than it is for the white boy. If the colored boy does happen to secure a job of this nature, to hold it he must do better work than the white boy, and even then, his promotion is slow and uncertain.

The general exclusion of Negroes from all places where they might acquire business and industrial training is a serious handicap to their progress. In the high skilled and best paid trades they are as far removed as they are from the position of cashier of a bank. A few months ago a friend handed me a letter which he had received from Mr. Scott Porter, secretary of The Master Builders Association of Akron, Ohio. In that letter Mr. Porter said: "We have had numerous inquiries relative to colored mechanics and laborers, and beg to advise that we cannot use any of this class of people in our city. Our object in advertising is not to acquire an undesirable class, but we certainly do welcome all desirable people who wish to come to Akron." He evidently counts Negroes as undesirable citizens.

The white people in the North sometimes get very enthusiastic about the education of the Negro in the South, but when it comes to employing one they will let him starve to death before they will give him a chance to make an honest living. The Negro can walk the streets of the Northern cities day after day seeking employment, and he finds every door closed against him, except in menial service. Many of the best trained and educated have to turn to the South if they wish to do anything but odd jobs and heavy manual labor. The Negro is

past-master in the use of euphemisms but the hotels and restaurants do not want him. Many of them are good machinists but the manufacturing establishments will not have them. Since the riots in Chicago even the packers and owners of the stockyards and other industrial plants, which were the principal employers of Negro labor, have met and reached an understanding and final decision to return Negro laborers to the South and give white men the employment. Race prejudice has so increased in the North that a few years ago at Marion, Massachusetts, and about four years ago in New York City, town meetings were held providing for a vote on the question of employing only white men on town work.

The masses of Negroes in the North are being held down to the lowest, most menial occupations. The Negro has room at the bottom but no fixed industrial status. Of course the Negro race is a child race, left behind in the struggle for existence, on one hand, because of original unfavorable environment and consequent inheritance of physical and mental conditions that, at present, foredoom to failure their competition on equal terms with other races. But on the other hand, they are behind because of race prejudice. This has caused them to lose the occupations that were confessedly theirs in the North. It seems that the Northern people have abandoned their liberal doctrine and are now going to the other extreme. They, in general, seem to be doing all they can to keep the Negro away from the North, except for the last few years owing to the labor situation caused by the European War. Now that the war is over they seem to be doing all they can to rid themselves of the Negroes who came up during the war. I have read of many Negroes returning South saying: "I'se got 'nuff of de Norf." Dozens of Negroes working in the munition factories told me they did not like the North and did not intend to stay any longer than the war lasted. Many said they came there to keep out of the army. I said to a Negro from Jacksonville, Florida. "How would you like to be in Jacksonville to-night?" His reply was: "I'd a thousand times rather be there than here." He continued, "Youse can make a lot of money up here, but it takes everything to live. Can't get anything fresh, everything you buy is rotten, and they don't care as much for you as they do a dog." Another

said: "Dese people get me. I ran on de train for twelve years befo' I come here, and can handle a train all right. But they wouldn't let me get up on that train and even turn it around to save my life." Another Negro said to me: "I was raised up here among these people and served on the police force in both New York and Philadelphia, but these are the damnedest people I ever saw. They pat you on the back when they want a favor and cut your throat the rest of the time. I married in South Carolina and have a farm down there and I expect to go back down there and live." A few nights afterward another Negro and a Filipino had a fight and the whites swore the Filipino clear. This Negro with others quit and left for South Carolina.

It is a fact that the Negro usually gets better wages in the North than in the South. But what becomes of the better wages? They go for exorbitant rentals. All investigators testify that the Negro has to pay higher rents than the white people and get poorer houses, or rather rooms, for many of them do not have much more than a room. Then they have to pay for fuel to keep them warm through the long Northern winters, pay for lights, water, etc. Yet most of the Negroes seem to have the idea that if they get $15 per week in a Northern city and it costs them $15 per week to live, that they are doing better than in the South where they make $10 per week and it costs them $8 per week to live. When the Negro gets into the North whatever he gets he has to pay for. It is quite different from the sunny South, where things often come from the white man's table free of charge, where he borrows money from his white friend, both knowing it will never be repaid. A Southern Negro working in the North said to me: "What we get here we have to pay for, and if we don't have any money we don't get anything. Nobody gives us anything and nobody will trust us."

These higher rentals and other expenses force the Negro into unsanitary houses. Frequently they are forced to labor without sufficient food and clothing, and without proper rest. Competition compels them to follow the hardest and most exposed occupations in order to gain a livelihood. The rigors of the pitiless commercial and economic competition of the North, they feel in all its intensity. As a wage-earner the Negro secures neither the respect of his employer nor a competence for him-

self, but he must live in these conditions which bring on sickness and premature death.

The Negro, of course, must bear part of the blame for his present condition. Laziness, lack of foresight, misdirected energy, pleasure-seeking, immorality, have all been more or less potent factors in keeping him in poverty. Much of this, I think, is due to the training he received in the slavery régime. He portrays these characteristics in the South, but the Southern people are accustomed to them and do not seem to pay very much attention to these defects. But the Northern white man has not been accustomed to such characteristics, and when the Negro "plays-off" on him, he has no more to do with Negroes and ceases to be a friend to them. His relationship is more business-like and less personal. The Negro in the North is in a higher developed industrial atmosphere and he does not seem to be able to adjust himself to the new conditions of living as a wage-earner. He has left the South where the prejudice is social and political, but in the North, while it is not so much that, it is more of an economic struggle, forcing him into menial service, thus striking at the heart of his existence. He works harder, no doubt, than he did in the South, but the high rents, etc., run up his expenses at such a rate that he has to call his wife and children into service to get enough to live; even then the words of the old rhyme apply to him:

"Rufus Rastus Johnson Brown,
What you gwine terdo when de rent comes 'round?"

It seems to me that the Negro masses must seek the South for economic freedom. Booker Washington said: "Whatever other sins the South may be called upon to bear, when it comes to business, pure and simple, it is in the South that the Negro is given a man's chance in the commercial world."[23] Again he wrote: "It has been my privilege to study the conditions of my people in nearly every part of America; and I say, without hesitation, that, with some exceptional cases, the Negro is at his best in the Southern States."[24] And again he said: "Wherever the Negro has lost ground industrially in the South, it is not because there is a prejudice against him as a skilled laborer on

[23] *Up from Slavery*, pp. 119–120.
[24] *Future of the American Negro*, p. 202.

the part of the native Southern white man."[25] Dr. A. C. Ellis, in a speech at the Sagamore Sociological Conference, said: "I believe that the Negro is given a fairer economic chance in the South than in the North."

According to the statements of these men and others which I could mention, it appears that there is nothing to hinder the economic development of the Negro in the South. The question that naturally follows—is he taking advantage of his opportunities? Yes, to a remarkable degree. Nearly 9,000,000 Negroes live in the South, and about 7,000,000 of these live in the rural districts. Of the 150,000,000 acres of the improved land in the South, something like 100,000,000 acres are cultivated by Negro labor. Out of every eleven bales of cotton produced in the South seven are produced by Negroes. From 1900 to 1910 the total value of farm property owned by the colored farmers in the South increased from $177,404,688 to $492,893,218, or 177 per cent. The census shows that the number of Negro landowners is increasing through the South about 50 per cent. more rapidly than the white landowners. Surely these figures speak well for the Negroes in the South.

3. The Negro in politics has long been a bugaboo in the South. It has served as a weapon to wield the white South into one political party to oppose the Negro who has been an advocate of the other party, due to Northern training. It has also served to keep alive the old animosity between the Northern and Southern white men. The Reconstruction Period of Negro rule in the South presents, to my mind, the most tragic scene that ever befell any part of the New World. But soon the South determined to have no more of that, and after a short time she found a means of eliminating the Negro politician and voter. She saw the Negro was not prepared to run the political "machine" in the South. Any State in the Union might give the ballot to boys of twelve years of age, but no State could guarantee its proper use in the hands of these boys. This is just what happened in the South after the Civil War. Even to-day the Negro *en masse* is still a baby—a political baby. After the war the Negro was still a slave in everything but name, yet he was asked to become at once a governing citizen. No amendment can over night make

[25] *Future of the American Negro*, p. 78.

freedmen of slaves. Freedom is a gradual growth, and it is vain to bestow it on those who have not earned it.

Before 1890 there was no law on the statute-books in the South to prevent Negroes from voting, yet in some places they were not permitted to do so for fear of mob violence, in other places their votes were disregarded, but in others they voted freely. In general, many illegal methods were used to discountenance their voting. In 1890, Mississippi made the famous constitutional amendment to keep or restrict the Negro vote to what she considered proper bounds. South Carolina followed in 1895; Louisiana, 1898; North Carolina, 1900; Alabama and Virginia, 1901; Georgia, 1908; Maryland has tried the same game but has failed in every effort. Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, and Oklahoma passed the famous "Grandfather Clause." Mississippi, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia have the "Understanding Clause." California, Illinois, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Washington, Wyoming, and the Philippines have a form of the "Grandfather Clause." Florida, Arkansas, Tennessee and Texas have not made any constitutional amendments that can be called suffrage amendments. Maine, Massachusetts and Vermont are about as strict in their registration requirements as any of the Southern States. In fact, Mississippi copied verbatim her qualifications of suffrage from Massachusetts and Vermont. When Maine added her educational qualification in 1893, she provided that the qualification should not apply to any one who had the right to vote in January, 1893, or to any one sixty years of age at that time. Yet she joined in rebuking the South for doing the same thing. Pennsylvania and Delaware require the payment of poll tax just as many Southern States do. In fact, suffrage is very restricted anyway in the United States. Certain standards are set in all States. Boys under twenty-one years of age cannot vote regardless of how well educated they may be. Women are just now gaining the right of the ballot. Criminals, idiots, and the insane cannot vote anywhere. In 1912 there were over 90,000,000 people in the United States, but only 15,000,000 voted in the Presidential election, or about one in every six.

Many of the Southern States have passed the restrictive registration qualifications. Before these were passed, Negroes were disfranchised by illegal methods, as has been indicated. Now the Negro who can read and write satisfactorily to the register can vote according to law, but yet, many of them who are fully equal to the task of citizenship are illegally denied the right to vote. We Americans write and read of the horrible way in which the Jews are treated by the Rumanians, how the Rumanian government made the Jews serve in the army and yet denied them the right of citizenship. But right here in "free" America the Negroes were drafted and made serve in the army and fight in France, and yet when it comes to having a voice in the Government they are treated as aliens. But things are changing in the South, and to-day many Negroes are voting. The great trouble in the South is old party lines. If these could be changed in order to do away with the idea prevalent in the South that the white man must vote the Democratic ticket to hold "white supremacy," and the Negro must vote the straight Republican ticket, conditions would doubtless be better. These things cause the two races to stand apart politically when really their interests are the same, and cause many Negroes to be denied the right of suffrage. A complete breaking up of the old parties and party ideas would probably bring quick relief to the illegal methods, but as it is, things are changing. Many Negroes in the South are voting to-day and their number seems to be rapidly increasing. According to the newspapers, after the Presidential election, many Negroes broke their historical allegiance to the Republican party in several places in the South. On the other hand, the Republican party is gaining many whites in the South. I think things are changing for the better along political lines in the South. The Negro as he shows himself industrious, progressive, honest, chaste, loyal to his family and community is winning his full manhood in the South.

While the Southern States were passing these restrictive registration laws and for some time afterwards, the South was condemned very severely by the North, but for the last few years this condemnation has about ceased. This indicates that a change is taking place in the North. The North is more than half convinced that the South was right in imposing some

limitation upon the franchise. The Northern people have come to see, just as the Southern people saw at the time that the Negro was not prepared for citizenship. But to-day those that vote in the South are fully equal to the task of citizenship.

But what are the conditions in the North? After the Civil War the Negro was very popular in the North. He often received special honors. Often he was an office holder. But a change has also been taking place in the North. The conspicuousness of the Negro at elections has been one of the chief causes of race prejudice. Of course the Negro vote is important if he holds the balance of power in the city, town, or ward, otherwise he is not consulted or given any of the spoils. Thus finding their votes not needed or sought, many of the better class do not vote. This does not make any difference, however, for the ward bosses have the names of all who registered, and vote all who do not come to the polls. Of those who do come, they are met before they get to the polls, and if they will sell their vote it is bought for a trifle.

The South disfranchises the Negro by law and other illegal methods, and the North disfranchises him by money and other illegal methods. The Negro vote is bought and sold in the open market in practically all of our Northern cities and towns. The Negroes vote *en bloc*; they vote cheap, and are easily controlled. They do not get as much political recognition as the Italians, Irish, Jews and some other foreigners. There is not the first principle of right in much of our dealing with the Negro politically to-day. They are thoroughly American in spirit, habit, taste, hope, and aspirations. They are what we trained them to be in more ways than one. Politically, they are "bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh." When a Negro is capable of voting intelligently according to law, he should be permitted to vote just as any other citizen and no one should be permitted to hinder or try to buy him. As long as the white people allow such things to be carried on, so long will we have corrupt politics, and so long will the Negro be hindered in gaining his full manhood.

In the North to-day, we find that Negroes are being thrown out of office and white men put in their places. And this movement is not merely local, but has extended to the Federal Government. Mr. M. R. Smith—a white man—was appointed

as minister to the colored Republic of Hayti. The Negroes had held this office so long that they considered it theirs. Then a colored Democrat failed to go through as Register of the Treasury. *The North American* of June 9, 1916, told of President Wilson sending to the Senate the nomination of John F. Castello as Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia. This office had been held by Negroes for twenty years. Mr. Baker says that the Negroes are worried over the changing attitude of the Federal Government. "The movement to segregate Negro workmen in the department at Washington and the failure of the Democratic Administration to reappoint most of the Negroes who occupied important Federal positions have been regarded as a body blow at their aspirations. The pressure in the last Congress for discriminatory legislation, including bills for preventing Negro immigrants, for forcing segregation in the street cars in the District of Columbia and the threat to cut off entirely the appropriation of Howard University, one of their best educational institutions, have all added to their fear and distrust."

In Congress, April 30, 1916, they had a great discussion over the Negro question. One thing, at least, is interesting in their speeches. L. M. Shaw, former Republican Governor of Iowa, and Secretary of the Treasury under Roosevelt, said: "If I had my way, the Republican party would put in its platform a plank like this: 'we believe in equal rights, equal opportunities under the law, but in the selection of officers, conditions being as they are, we deem it the part of wisdom to select from that race which for all time has been and for all time must be the governing race.' Such a plank would break the 'Solid South'."[26]

I believe the white people in the North and West are as much opposed to Negro office holders as the South. As to what the tendency to eliminate Negro office holders will bring forth can hardly be more than a guess. At least we may say the Negro is losing out as a political unit in the North and West, and also in the Federal Government. Recently there has been some discussion regarding the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Some advocate their repeal. They seem to be valueless to-day. When a State seeks to evade them she finds a way of doing so,

[26] *Raleigh News and Observer*, May 1, 1916.

and gains what she desires regardless of these amendments. Civil Rights Bills and Federal Amendments are no more than scraps of paper when either South, North or West wishes to mistreat the Negro.

I do not think the South is as opposed to Negro officers now as she used to be. Gilford Troup, a Negro of Lawrence county, Alabama, has for the past twenty-four years been a justice of the peace. For the past fourteen years he has been elected by the white voters of the district. Can we imagine such a thing taking place immediately after the Civil War? I think the white South is becoming willing that Negroes should have certain offices as they show themselves capable.

In all the States, courts are free. The Negro can sit where he pleases. There is, however, a custom in some places which separates the two races, the white people sitting on one side and the colored people on the other. This is quite common in the South, but quite often there is no distinction made.

There are a number of counties both North and South where Negroes do not serve on the jury. I find that they do serve in many places in the South, and their number is increasing. The white men have power to keep any Negro off the jury if they so desire, but as the Negro increases in intelligence and wealth, more and more he is permitted to serve as juror.

I find very few complaints of recent years coming from Negroes that they are treated unjustly by the courts. They are tried in a court where the judge is a white man, the jury is composed of white men, or a majority of its members are white men, and usually defended by a white lawyer, yet they seem to be getting justice. Surely this speaks well for our courts.

## CHAPTER VI

## SEX RELATIONSHIP AND CRIME

One could scarcely deal with sex relationship and crime without mentioning social equality. Indeed, this aspect of the question runs through all of our discussions on race problems. Social equality is the torrid zone of our discussions on race problems. Whatever the vague yet comprehensive term "social equality" may embrace, it is the bugaboo of the South and is becoming so in the North. To-day it is the shibboleth which divides the races asunder. It is the slogan, which like a savage warwhoop, arouses the deepest venom of the race which after all slumbers only skin deep under a thin veneer of civilization.

The South has always had a grave fear of anything which she considered leading to social equality solely because she thinks it leads to interracial sex relationship and interracial marriage. Were it not for this belief she would care little about social equality. In the minds of most Southern people, and a surprisingly large number of Northern people, this is what social equality means. Only recently has this idea gotten hold of the minds of the Northern people to any appreciable extent. President Elliot of Harvard University has told us that the white man of the North is not less averse than his Southern brother to the social mingling of the races. It has been more apparent in the South because there has always been more Negroes, but now it is becoming apparent in the North as the Negro population increases.

The North has gone on the assumption that the two races would not "mix" or marry. The South has worked on the assumption that they would mix and marry if not prevented. What has really happened is that the South has had more social equality than the North but she did not know it. She has always had more sexual relationship, especially prior to and immediately after the Civil War. The North, up to a few years ago, made a great display of her associations with the Negro. Some wealthy man would give a dinner or dance and invite one or two of the

best Negroes. The newspapers would report this and add condemning words concerning the South. But such occasions as these seem to be almost unknown in the North to-day. The Southern white and Negro women have more social equality around the wash-tub than the Negro gets out of a Negro-white "blowout" in the North, to say nothing of the numerous other social contracts of the two races. The difference is a different label.

1. The constitutions of six States: Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee, prohibit Negro-white intermarriage. Twenty-three other States now have laws prohibiting Negro-white intermarriage. They are: Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Delaware, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, Oklahoma, North Dakota, Oregon, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Virginia, and West Virginia. In the other States there are no laws against interracial marriage. In the year of 1913 bills were introduced in ten of these States but were defeated, largely through the influence of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. These ten States were: Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, New York, Minnesota, Illinois, Kansas, and Washington. One can see by this that some of the Northern States have legislated against the Negro, and in other States there is a strong sentiment for such legislation. The New England States, New Jersey, Wyoming, and New Mexico have not tried in recent years to pass any laws against Negro-white intermarriage. Massachusetts and probably some of the other States had a law prohibiting Negro-white intermarriage several years before the Civil War.

Louisiana not only has a law against Negro-white intermarriage but also a law against concubinage. South Carolina and Nevada have laws against Negro-white cohabitation.

Nebraska passed her law against Negro-white intermarriage in 1913. The cause for passing this law seems to be as follows: On Easter night, 1913, a terrific storm swept over Omaha and destroyed about everything which the Negroes possessed. The Negroes immediately sent for their relatives and friends. The result was the gathering of hundreds of Southern Negroes in Omaha. The Negroes from the other towns saw how well the

Negroes in Omaha were being treated so they decided to take up their abode there. This gave Omaha a considerable Negro population. It is said that "they took possession of the city." The result was the law against Negro-white intermarriage.

The Johnson-Jeffries fight at Reno, Nevada, July 4, 1910, caused a number of race riots in the South. It also caused considerable race feeling all over the United States, especially in some of the Western States. Five of these States have passed the anti-Negro-white marriage laws since that fight. It probably had something to do with the passage of these laws.

One does not go far into the study of the Negro-white race problem until he finds himself face to face with the curious and seemingly absurd question: What is a Negro? To the popular mind any one is a Negro who has any Negro blood in his veins. We often see people who could pass for white anywhere, yet they are classed as Negroes. Then again we see people who undoubtedly have Negro blood in their veins passing for white. We are satisfied to let any one who has Negro blood in his veins pass for a Negro, but we are not willing for one who has a drop of Negro blood in his veins to pass for white if we know it. Southern white people pride themselves on being able to distinguish any Negro blood in any one, but nevertheless, they sometimes make mistakes. More than one man has had to pay the penalty for making this mistake. A few years ago a new principal came to the writer's home to take charge of the high school. Not long afterwards he met two girls on the street. He stopped them and asked why they did not come to school. One replied: "We goes to de colored school." He went on down the street somewhat mortified, nevertheless he enjoyed the joke. On several occasions I have mistaken mulattoes for white people. One night in Louisville, Kentucky, I attended a large gathering of Negroes, at which Dr. Du Bois was the speaker. As I sat there looking out over the large audience I said to one sitting by me, this may be a congregation of Negroes but it looks to me that half of them are white people. On another occasion I was in a large Negro church in Kentucky. I asked a cultured Negro sitting by my side if many white people came to church here. He said that quite a number attended church there, some regularly because it was quite a distance to a white church of that denom-

ination—Methodist. I asked if any white people were members of that church. He said that they were not members. Then, I asked, why that white man was giving out song-books. He answered that he was not a white man. I replied that while he might not pass as a white man he could if he wished to do so anywhere, for he had not ten drops of Negro blood in him.

The law must draw the line somewhere to avoid endless confusion. The laws of most of the States state what they consider a Negro, but some are very indefinite. Some simply say "Negro," others say "Negro or mulatto," "Any person of African descent," "Negro to the third generation." Eleven declare them Negroes as long as they have one-eighth Negro blood. In Alabama a Negro is a Negro forever. In some of the States a Negro breeds "white" in the fourth generation if one ancestor in each generation is a white person. But many of these statements give us as unsatisfactory an answer as could have been given to Hugh Kelly, who asked: "My father's father was a Black Hawk Indian, seven feet tall. My father's mother was an Irish-woman. My mother's father was an American white man. Her mother was a full-blooded African woman. What am I?"

In the States which have no laws against Negro-white intermarriage, very few mixed marriages occur. They have rapidly decreased for the last few years. Boston in 1905 had over 12,000 Negroes, yet she had only 19 mixed marriages, sixteen less than in 1900. It seems strange that they should decline so rapidly in Boston—the city that has always been so liberal toward the Negro. In practically all the Northern cities the Negro population has increased at a remarkable rate, but the marriages between the races have decreased very rapidly. The Negro-white intermarriage is usually consummated by a Negro man marrying a white woman; the reverse is seldom the phenomenon. The white women who marry Negroes are generally ignorant foreigners, and are socially ostracized, for generally speaking, neither race will have much to do with the couple.

I believe the chief reason why the mixed marriages are decreasing in the Northern cities is that there is an increasing Negro population, composed chiefly of recent immigrants from the South. These are generally of the lower class of Negroes, a

lower class than those brought up in the North. These have awakened the slumbering race prejudice that remains thinly veiled in all Caucasians. The low class of Negroes will often marry a white woman, but I do not believe the better class of Negroes want amalgamation, miscegenation, or to be Caucasianized. I have asked a number of them but I never received an affirmative answer. One of my university class-mates replied to the question: "Such as I could get, I would not have, and such as I would have, I cannot get." I do not think the Negroes oppose the laws against Negro-white intermarriage because they want intermarriage to take place, but rather because it leaves the Negro girl with less protection than a brute. If the Negro girl is impregnated by a white man, her child, under the law, is declared a bastard and she has no chance of gaining redress. The white man sows the whirlwind and looks for no crop. He certainly does not receive any according to law. The trouble with the laws is that they lead to concubinage, bastardy, and the degradation of the Negro women. They leave the Negro girl helpless before the lust of the white man. She is already almost helpless before the lust of the Negro "buck," and if she is left helpless before the white man also, what is to become of her? How can the Negro race improve without protection to their girls ? These Negro girls need protection just as much as the white girls, and they need far more training in morality. I do not think any one should advocate intermarriage between any races, certainly not between African and Caucasian. And certainly illegal cohabitation should be branded as infamous by all races. What I do think we need is less law and more distinctive education of the two races, especially the lower classes of the races. The laws were intended to stop the infusion of white blood with black. But in this they certainly have not accomplished what they were designed to do, and if this is all they were expected to do they are worthless.

2. No one phase of the race question has aroused more acrimonious discussion than that of the mulatto. The increase of mulattoes, their fertility, physical strength, intelligence, etc., have all been potent points in the discussions.

Mulattoes come about in two ways: first, through the mating of mulattoes with mulattoes or blacks; second, through the

mating of whites with mulattoes or blacks. There is a mistaken idea on the part of many people in thinking that all Negroes brought here from Africa were black. There is a large belt across central Africa in which the Negroes from the earliest records were mulattoes. There is no doubt that many of these were brought here and sold along with the blacks.

Before the Civil War many white men became the fathers of mulattoes. Some of these men were or later became governors, senators, congressmen—the best blood of the South. These mulattoes usually were treated much better and received better instruction than the black slaves. They were the masters' sons and daughters, so were used as house servants and were not put out in the fields at hard labor. Often they were set free at their masters' death. After the Civil War many well-to-do white men had their black families as well as their white families. The black families were usually well cared for. This system of concubinage was a common thing for many years after the war, and is not unknown in the South to-day. There is, however, a strong sentiment developing through the South against this practice. Leagues among both whites and blacks are being formed in many places to try to stop the mixing of the races, and preachers and other public men are speaking in no unmistakable terms against it. I shall never forget the look of despair on a Negro minister's face, as we were talking of the mulatto problem, when he said: "For God's sake do something to stop it. It lies in the hands of you young Southern white men to create such a sentiment against it that it will be stopped. Unless you do the Negro race is ruined." Laws cannot stop it. I think, however, if the social forces are allowed to take their course, that with development, the practice will pass away naturally.

According to the census report there were 2,050,686 mulattoes in the United States in 1910. In 1890 there were 1,132,060. I am aware that these figures cannot be relied upon to be absolutely accurate for there are many Negroes who have Indian, Chinese, Japanese, etc., blood in their veins and are classed as mulattoes. Then there are many Negroes who have white blood in their veins but do not show it, so are classed as black. Then there are some mulattoes who have "gone over to the whites." The latter class often change their names and say they are Mexican,

Armenian, Italian, Brazilian, etc. I feel that these figures, though large, are not sufficient to give us much alarm of race amalgamation. The ante-bellum and post-bellum practice of concubinage doubtless accounts for thousands of our mulattoes to-day. A glance at table VIII shows that the percentage of mulattoes between 1890 and 1900 decreased in twenty-five States. I agree with Mr. McCord, who says:

"The fact that sexual relations between the races is becoming more and more confined to dissolute white men and Negro prostitutes who, in common with all prostitutes, bear few children and rear fewer of them, is rapidly curtailing the infusion of white blood. The further fact, also, that children from such unions suffer from both vicious environment and degenerate heredity tends to make them less prolific, even if they reach maturity, and to eliminate them by early death, thus cutting off their future propagation.

"I should say then, upon the whole, that inter-racial amalgamation has taken place to an appreciable extent, but to no such extent as is claimed by many writers. Nor is the process going on to the same extent now as formerly except through mulatto parents."

The whites who usually cohabit with Negro women to-day are generally white boys, usually under the age of twenty years, and old, broken-down, worn-out men, neither of whom are fit to beget children. This is quite different from before and for some years after the Civil War, when the best blood was infused into the Negro. The mulattoes from such unions could justly be proud of their ancestors and win distinction as many of them did. But the mulatto which results from the union of white and black to-day has quite a different ancestry. Considering this, it is marvelous that they are not more criminal than they really are. The crime of mulattoes is usually against property while that of blacks is generally against person. The influence of the white blood may have something to do with this. It is stated that mulattoes are not as prolific as whites or blacks and that they stop breeding by the fourth generation unless mixed back with pure stock; yet, I feel that most of the mulattoes of to-day are the children of mulattoes. I think there are fewer whites mixing with Negroes than formerly, and I think this same force is

working between mulattoes and blacks. "Quadroons, octoroons and pure mulattoes marry, but a flat-nosed, thick-lipped African must mate with his color and kind."

There is a prevalent idea through the country that mulattoes are more intelligent than pure Negroes. This is doubtless true of the older generation of mulattoes, for as I have said they had much excellent white blood in their veins, and had better training, better environment, etc. Many leaders of the Negro race have been and are mulattoes, as, Du Bois, Washington, Douglass, Chestnut, Stanley, Tanner, Terrell, etc., but there are notable exceptions, as, Vernon, Miller, Dunbar, Price, and Mason. According to the records being kept at Hampton Institute, the black Negro of to-day is just as intelligent as the mulatto. About an equal number of pure Negroes and mulattoes have made advancement in their studies and at their work. The most intelligent Negro I think I ever heard talk was undoubtedly a pure Negro, of the Phi Beta Kappa honor of Harvard University.

As has been indicated, many mulattoes "cross the line"—become white. Many can pass for white and some do in order to escape race prejudice and to gain greater economic freedom. But there are many who could pass easily for white that choose to remain Negroes. Of course the Negro race never loses any of the Negro blood if the white people either North or South know it. They class them as Negroes socially, economically, etc., just as long as they know they have any Negro blood in their veins. The reason more do not pass as white is that they are afraid it will be discovered. They are afraid that some one who has known them before as Negroes will come into their town. The Negroes will not disclose their identity, but the whites will. Then they are afraid that if they marry there will be a child in the family with a darker hue, and thus their real identity will be discovered. They feel that they are a deceiver and they often testify that they cannot endure living this sneaking life. They prefer to be Dr. Jekyll in Negro society rather than Mr. Hyde among the whites. So they voluntarily choose to be Negroes. Professor Du Bois could pass anywhere for an Italian professor, or a Parisian *maitre d'escrime*, yet he prefers to remain a Negro. Race prejudice does a bit of good here to the lower class of Negro

by forcing the well educated, progressive mulatto and pure blood back into Negro society, and causes them to help solve the problems of the Negro race.

On the other hand, there is developing very definitely, in some places, a mulatto society which comes in between the whites and pure Negroes. Some social sets and some churches are composed entirely of mulattoes. There is a church in Philadelphia where the membership is composed almost entirely of mulattoes and it is generally understood that they do not want pure Negroes as members.

3. I have chosen to treat crime, race riots and lynchings all together. Some very definite lines could be drawn between them, but for my purpose, I think it better to consider them all together without trying to draw any visible lines of demarcation.

Before the Civil War the Negro race had no appreciable criminal record behind it in this country. In slavery it did not have an opportunity to commit many crimes successfully. But immediately after the Civil War was over this race started to make a criminal record that has grown, widened and intensified as the years have passed. Still I doubt if its criminal record is any more serious than that of any other primitive people in like surroundings. The Negro *en masse* is still a primitive people, and from this group comes the element that is making the criminal record. The defective family life and training is, I think, the chief cause of criminality among the Negroes just as it is among other peoples. Under the slavery regime the Negro had practically no family life, and since slavery many of them have failed to develop what would be classed as a real family life. The stringent economic conflict prevents many of them from having what may be termed a family life. They are huddled together in cabins; the father and mother have to be away from home working to support the family, and the children are left to grow up in unwholesome environments, surrounded by vice and crime of all descriptions without any definite training to develop character.

Under the slavery regime the Negro would steal things from his master. They belonged to his master as did he, and so he thought it made no difference for him to appropriate them to his own use if the master did not catch him. This seems to be a

trait which the Negroes have never been able to overcome. Even to-day Southern people seem to expect about every Negro whom they employ to steal, and they are prone to excuse them on the ground that "darkies are darkies," so you need not expect any better of them. They are expected to steal part of the clothes which they wash and part of the food which they cook, to say nothing of robbing the hen-roost. Yet Southern people kindly wink at these small thievings which are liable to develop into atrocious crimes later. If all of the Southern people would do as most of the Northern people do, demand that the Negroes whom they employ shall be truthful, honest, and moral, and not employ them unless they maintain that standard, I think the criminal record of the next generation would be considerably diminished. As it is, it is rapidly increasing and the white people are partly to be blamed for it.

As to what is to become of the Negro race unless they conquer their criminal tendencies, it is hard to say. The leaders of the Negro race are putting up a strong fight to check their criminal record. Just now the physical continuance of the Negro race is threatened by its criminal and moral status. Du Bois says: "The Negro Academy ought to sound a note of warning that would echo in every black cabin in the land. Unless we conquer our present vices, they will conquer us. We are diseased. We are developing criminal tendencies, and an alarmingly large percentage of our men and women are sexually impure."

The criminal record of the Negro shows a steady increase. It shows a higher increase in the North than in the South. This is due partly to the mobile element which shifts to places of greatest attraction. They leave what little home life they have in the rural districts of the South and go to the Northern cities where there is less restraint and greater opportunity for crime. But this does away with the Northern idea that the Negro is more criminal in the South, and that it is caused by Southern courts dealing unjustly with them. In 1904 there were 7,527 Negroes in Northern prisons and 18,550 in Southern. In 1910 there were 10,081 Negroes in Northern prisons and 28,620 in Southern. In 1904 there were 50,111 whites in prisons and 72,797 in 1910. In 1904 the number of prisoners per 100,000 of the population was for whites, 75; for Negroes, 277. In 1910 the number for whites

was 89; for Negroes 375. In 1904 the rate of Negro prisoners per 100,000 Negro population was 765 for the Northern States and 220 for the Southern States. In 1910 it was 732 in the Northern States and 323 in the Southern States.

It is interesting to note that the Negro has a relatively lower percentage of crime than the immigrant races which are coming to our shores. The commitments to prison in 1904 per 1,000 of certain nationalities were: Mexican, 4.7; Italian, 4.4; Austrian, 3.6; French, 3.4; Canadian, 3.0; Russian, 2.8; Poles, 2.7; Negro, 2.7. For the same year those committed for rape per 100,000 of the total population were: All white, 0.6; Negro, 1.8; Italian, 5.3; Mexican, [illegible]; Austrian, 3.2; Hungarian, 2.0; French, 1.9; Russian, 1.9

Riots and lynchings used to be classed as peculiar to the South. This was especially true for several years after the Civil War. But as early as 1712 New York hanged and burnt slaves and left some in chains to starve to death. And in 1741 the city of New York burnt fourteen Negroes and hanged twenty-one.

Many Northern writers and a few Europeans have criticized the South very severely for her methods of dealing with the Negro. Some of the Northern writers claim that the Southern people do not understand the Negroes and do not treat them as they should, that if they did they would have no trouble with the Negroes. I grant that often the Negro receives unjust treatment in the South, and I am not one to defend one thing that has been done which I think unjust. But is the South the only place where the Negro is treated unjustly? Is the South the only place where the whites have trouble with the Negroes? It is unnecessary to mention in any detail whatever the different cases of lynchings, riots, and murders of Negroes that have occurred in the North, because any one that is familiar with conditions in the United States for the last five years knows that there has been much more trouble between the white and colored people in the North than there has been in the South. While I cannot get an accurate record of all the lynchings, riots, and murders that have occurred in the United States, I am firmly convinced that, if it were calculated on the basis of Negro population, we would find that there have been more Negroes lynched, more murders of Negroes, and more riots in the North than in the South according to the

percentage of Negro population in the two sections of the country. Riots to-day seem to be about twenty-five times as common in the North as in the South. The North goes after the whole race while the South goes after the individual Negro criminal. The South has nothing to compare with the occurrences of East St. Louis and Chicago. The riot at East St. Louis bears the distinction of being the most murderous massacre of colored Americans that ever occurred in our country's history.

What shall we say of lynchings? When white men who are supposed to be living in the crux of civilization revert to primordial savagery, what may we expect of the Negro? Lynching in this country is peculiarly the white man's burden. The white people have taken all responsibility of government into their hands. All the machinery of justice is in their hands, yet lynchings are allowed to occur. Mobs are symptoms of political rottenness, and a government does not exist for its own sake. Its only *reason d'etre* being its utility as an agent for the advancement of the common welfare and the promotion of individual prosperity and happiness. Yet the government allows mobs of white citizens to lynch, murder, shoot, and burn its black citizens and go free! The government would not allow horses to be burnt in such a cruel and horrible manner as it permits some of its black citizens to be.

The white man who joins a mob puts himself, by his very acts, on a level with the Negro criminal. If our civilization does mean self-control and self-restraint it means nothing. If the white man casts away self-control and self-restraint he is already as savage as the Negro who commits the most dastardly crime. It is commonly said that a criminal father is a poor preacher of homilies to a wayward son. Yet this is what is going on. The white man sets the example of non-obedience to law, of non-enforcement of law, and unequal justice. What then can we expect of the Negro? Does lynching help make the Negro obedient to law? No. How could it? Lynching serves to stir up animosity between the two races. The Negro lives according to the standard the whites in his community set for him. If the white people in a community are law-abiding the Negroes usually are. The Negro sees white men committing murder over and over again in all these lynchings and yet go free.

Why should he fear to murder? And how should he regard the law? Few words in the English language are too strong to condemn a mob like the one at Springfield which lynched an octogenarian Negro just for the sake of killing—the blood lust. Then there is the mob at East St. Louis which burnt 310 Negro homes, covering sixteen and one half acres, where white women beat down innocent Negro women and stripped their clothing from them, white men shot helpless Negroes, and white men picked up Negro children and threw them into burning buildings. But we must confess that our civilization is diseased and many of our cities, "though covered with a forest of church towers are as corrupt as Nineveh and Tyre."

The horrible burnings and frightful tortures which, in the last few years, have accompanied the lynching of Negroes, can partly be accounted for by the fact that a lower class of white people now do the lynching than formerly. Then newspapers publish in detail, accounts of the lynchings. This power of suggestion has great influence on these barbarous mobs of poor, ignorant whites. They think the more barbarous they make these lynchings the more quickly crimes will be stopped, but often it has the opposite effect. It has been recorded that a Negro who had witnessed a lynching for rape actually committed an assault on his way home. That there has been and is governmental inefficiency in dealing with mob violence is quite evident. Our laws as formulated and administered have proven inadequate to deal with the situation, and they should either be administered or repealed. But if we had a few more men like the Governor of Kentucky, who offered to uphold the law and defend the court with his own body if necessary, when a mob was trying to lynch a Negro, lynching would soon be a thing of the past.

Lynch-law reached its climax in the late eighties and early nineties. From 1885 to 1915, 3,733 people were lynched in the United States, 2,735 of these being Negroes. In 1915, 54 negroes were lynched; 1916, 50; and 1917, 36. Georgia seems to be, by far, the bloodiest, most lawless State in the Union. She lynched eighteen in 1915, and fourteen in 1916; more than one-fourth of the lynching of these two years occurred within her borders. Lynchings occurred in the following States in 1917: Alabama, 4; Arkansas, 4; Arizona, 1; Florida, 1; Georgia, 6; Kentucky,

2; Louisiana, 5; Mississippi, 1; Montana, 1; Oklahoma, 1; South Carolina, 1; Tennessee, 3; Texas, 6; Virginia, 1; Wyoming, 1. The number of lynchings was reduced from 171 in 1886–1895 to 70 in 1906–1915. Lynching in the United States seems to be rapidly declining, and let us hope it shall soon be a thing of the past.

From the preceding reports it seems that the Northern States are having real experience with lynchings and race riots. Race riots are becoming very common in practically all the large Northern cities. And there is no little ground for apprehension in the fact that it is more common to hear the cries of "Lynch him," "Get a rope and string him up," in the streets of New York City than it is in any city in the South. The increased migration of Southern Negroes into the North doubtless accounts for much of it. With this migration goes many of the mobile Negro element which shifts from place to place according to temporary attraction. This element has little regard for the best interest of either race. They leave a criminal record wherever they go and care little for the results. Incarcerations only serve to intensify their animosity. Their criminal record in the North has been responsible in a marked degree for the changing sentiment of the Northern white people toward the Negro race.

According to statistics some Northern cities show a notable surplus of Negro women over men. While it is a question whether the Negroes can ever become a large factor in the population in Northern latitudes as they are not holding their own in the country or small towns, and in large cities only by constant migration and not by birth rate, yet the predominance of the female element has a very bad effect on their home life and society in the urban Negro population. In 1910 there were only 889 males to every 1000 females among the Negro population in the United States, while there were 1060 males to every 1,000 females among the white populaton. Where either sex preponderates, in large numbers, there is much immorality because the other sex is cheap. In the Northern cities the Negro women preponderate in large numbers, so it is a very common thing to see a Negro woman "waltzing" down the street with her paramour. Many Negro men are supported in idleness by Negro women in order to have them as paramours. This brings

defective family life, and the children deserve much credit if they do not become criminals. The women of any race are the conservators of its moral stamina, which in turn lies back of all social progress. But if these women live debauched lives, and support their paramours, living under the stress and strain of the economic conflict in the North, where over half of them are forced to earn their living in domestic service and that at low wages, what may we expect of the children?

The increasing criminal record of the Negro is a serious question. A few years ago the Northern newspapers did not say much about the crimes of Negroes, but now almost all the Northern newspapers publish the crimes of Negroes in glowing headlines. And they are not very particular about the phraseology they use in their discussions of the crimes of Negroes. This seems to have given many of the Northern whites a disgust for the detested race. They now blame the whole race for the crimes of few, and have withdrawn their friendship for the Negro and want nothing to do with him. When he comes to court he must suffer the consequences. No one will take his case without money. He has no white friend to intercede for him, and the courts are generally not willing to liberalize in his case.

On the other hand, in the South, there has always been a kind of affection between the two races because of the close associations in slavery and since, which influence continues to hold today. The Negroes show great affection for the whites and practically every Negro in the South has some white friend to whom he can go for aid. When the Negro commits a crime and gets in jail in the South, he sends for his "white folks," if he is fortunate enough to have any, and he generally is. And they come, men or women, as the case may be, practically without fail. His "white folks" have great power in court and often they are responsible for the Negro getting less than justice. The court, often through the influence of his white friends, lets him go with a reprimand or a small fine when the law would call for something more severe.

If the Negro has no "white folks" he may have much trouble before the court gets through with him, but even then some one may take pity on him and get a lawyer to defend him, or the judge may appoint some lawyer to defend him. Mr. Champ

Clark says: "Some of the hardest fights that I have ever made in court have been by appointment of a judge, generally to defend some poor, friendless Negroes, and I made just as hard a fight as I would have made for the President of the United States, or the Governor of Missouri, or anybody else, and I would do it again."

## CHAPTER VII

### RELIGIOUS RELATIONSHIP

In another chapter I have said something about the Negro minister as a professional man. The Negro preacher before and after the Civil War was poorly equipped for the high and sacred office of the ministry. Even to-day many of them remain with the poorly equipped class, but many of them are very well equipped to perform their duties. The intellectual class of Negro preachers, who are well trained to lead their people, have an exceedingly hard task before them. Usually their congregations are uneducated and take very little interest in the sermons of the educated minister. Unless they can preach a lot of magical, mysterious, hell-fire and damnation kind of religion and preach in the "sing-song" method they are liable to have to change pulpits quite often.

The Negro church is the only institution which the Negro may justly call his own. It is a fact that he copied his religion largely after his white masters, and it is a fact that some Negro churches still remain under the white man's control, but most of them are not controlled by white men and white men have little or nothing to do with them. In all his other institutions he has to come in contact with the white man, but in the church he can preach whatever he wishes so long as it is acceptable with his congregation. And his congregation can roll on the floor all night, get just as much religion as they want, shout until their clothes fall off if they wish, and the white people have nothing to do with it.

The Negro preacher often does not care what his parishioners believe, sometimes what they do, but there is one thing which he is vitally interested in and that is the financial side of his church. He often has the collection plate passed several times in the course of one service. I have often seen the collection plate passed three times in one service, and if there are many white people in the congregation it is sometimes passed more often. The life of the Negro preacher is often an unfit example for his

congregation. Many Negro preachers are dishonest, immoral and sexually impure. It is unfortunately true that there is a wide discrepancy between creed and conduct, not only among the church members, but the ministers as well. Negroes are widely known for their church going proclivities and their emotional and spiritual susceptibilities, and often they permit their emotions to take the place of their spiritual nature, or rather carry it to extremes. They also quite often permit their sexual passions to overcome their emotions. This takes place to such an extent that it must be confessed that ungodliness is triumphant when their "temples of worship are turned into debauching rendezvous, with prayer-meetings transformed into sèances of sensous contortions and physical frenzies." Negroes practice such an infinitesimal amount of the religion they shout that many Southern whites have little confidence in their religion. Rev. Dr. Tucker, at the American Church Congress, said: "I have known Negroes to steal from each other in the midst of prayer-meeting, and rob the hen roost on the way home."[26] Melick says: "I have heard Negroes trying to persuade others to accept religion, and a few minutes afterwards swear in the most vile terms imaginable."[26] Dr. Shufeldt says: "At Southern Negro campmeetings unbridled lust is a common practice."[27]

The time-honored dispute as to the proper mode of baptism is about the only Scriptural text which the Negro preacher approaches with controversial heat. Ethical sermons have no place in his preaching, but he places much emphasis on the doctrine of hell and the amount of the collection plate. He likes to be seen masquerading in a prince albert, a white vest, and other garments of seeming righteousness. Praise evoked by pulpit effusions brings him intense satisfaction. The title of the ministry has a peculiar fascination for him and to be called "Reverend" is a great joy. He will do almost anything to get a "D.D.," and the zenith of his life is realized when he becomes "President" of some Baptist body, or gains the title of "Bishop." Not all Negro ministers, however, are in this class. I have met some who were cultured gentlemen of the highest type. And I feel that the Negro should not be criticized very severely for his

[27] *Some Phases of the Negro Question*, p. 46.

failures in religion while white people make it almost impossible for it to be otherwise.

1. As I have indicated, the Negro was known to have churches of his own before the Civil War. After the Civil War Negroes immediately established churches of their own in the South, but in the North for many years they continued to worship side by side with the whites. They had some Negro churches in the North, but some of them worshiped with the whites. But for some years a change has been taking place in the Northern churches. One would think the Christian Church is the last place to look for race prejudice, yet it is there and plenty of it.

We are assured by several writers that it is only a few Catholic churches that Negroes and whites are found in anything like equal numbers worshiping side by side. They worship together in some Catholic churches in Boston and so do they in New Orleans and Louisville. I attended a Negro Catholic church in Louisville and found two-thirds of the congregation white people. I asked if the whites were members of that church and was told that they were not members there but came to help out the Negroes. In Chicago, and in many other Northern cities, separate Catholic and Episcopal churches have been established for the Negroes. We may say that in all the cities of the North, and in the rural districts as well, it is seldom that one finds white people and Negroes forming the same congregation.

I spent six years in the North and only once did I ever hear a minister mention that he or his congregation had anything to do with the Negro, or that there was such a thing as a Negro in the world. This one preached a sermon on the Negro as a request of a committee which had been established, chiefly by Negroes, to bring about a better understanding between the white and colored people two years after a riot. His sermon was delivered in a perfunctory manner with little knowledge of or interest in the subject on his own part or the part of his congregation. Commenting on the sermon one of the faithful members of the congregation said to me: "I went to hear the Gospel preached, not to hear about Negroes." However Baker[28] tells us that

[28] *Following the Color Line*, p. 122.

Northern white city pastors used to sometimes have a spasm of conscience over the Negro situation and venture to offer their services. He relates two cases reported to him by Miss Bartholomew who conducts a social settlement in one of the worst slums in Philadelphia. While the slum is near several of the most aristocratic white churches, and Miss Bartholomew has been there for several years, only twice have white pastors ventured down from their churches to inquire into the conditions and offer their services. The first one was willing to do nothing but read the burial services in case of death in the Negro families. The other wanted to establish a Sunday School for the Negroes but he could not have it in his church because they would have to air all the cushions after the Negroes had been in the church.

The Baptist denomination some years ago organized the General Baptist Convention of America. The first convention was held in St. Louis in 1905. The next meeting was to have been in Louisville in May, 1906, but the meeting was postponed but the executive committee assigning as the reason that they found difficulty in securing a church in which to meet. The whites were averse to having Negro members of the denomination assemble in the pews with them. Later it was arranged that the whites and Negroes should meet in the same edifice, but they were going to confine the Negroes to the use of the balcony. This the Negroes resented.

I was told by a minister who attended the Baptist Convention which met in Denver, Colorado, that neither the white families nor the hotels would entertain the Negro delegates.

A Negro concert went to Reading, Pennsylvania. The quartet sang in all the important whites churches of the city, but when it came to getting a place for them to spend the night, none of the white families and none of the hotels would entertain them. Finally the Y. M. C. A. had to fix up a back room for them where none of the whites would see them.

Colorado is the only State in the Union that has undertaken to guarantee the Negro free and equal accommodations and privileges in churches by law. But in Colorado the Negroes have their own churches and the white people will not have them as members of their churches.

On several occasions I have visited the Baptist Ministers' Conference in Philadelphia. Each time I saw some Negroes there. I asked some of the white ministers if they ever asked the Negroes to speak before the conference. They told me that they used to have them speak, but for a long time now they had not asked a Negro to speak because there seemed to be a feeling against their speaking.

After President Roosevelt held the famous luncheon with Dr. Washington, the ministers of the Methodist churches of Philadelphia and vicinity, at one of their meetings, commended the "courageous and broadminded act of our President, and we hail it with joy as an auspicious omen that the weight of the great office of the President of the United States is to be cast in the interest of equal rights of all our citizens before God under the law of the land." But in 1916 we find these same Methodist ministers with others of their denomination, in the conferences of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, having a great discussion over the Negro question. This time they had crossed the fence for they wanted some ruling in the conferences changed because they were afraid a Negro might become bishop over some white churches.

While there have been for some time numerous Negro churches in Boston, many colored people were members of the white Episcopal churches. A few years ago this came to be a serious problem. Negroes formed about one-fourth of the congregation of the Church of the Ascension and the vicar refused any further Negro attendance at the Sunday School. Other Episcopal churches had the same problem. They believed it according to teachings of Christ to keep the Negroes, but the white people were drifting away from them, strangers avoided them, and the Negroes could not contribute very much toward keeping up the expensive churches. They then decided to establish mission churches in the Negro districts, expecting these to grow into colored churches, and for the colored members of the white churches to move to them. Things drifted along this way for some time, but about 1906 a crisis was reached in St. Peter's church in Cambridge. Some of the white parents began to object to their children being in Sunday School classes with Negroes and having Negro teachers. About this time a new

rector came in and he separated the white and colored children in most of the classes, giving each, teachers of their own race. The Negroes were offended and raised a cry of "Jim-crowism." A little later a Negro boy was sent away from the church and the Negroes were more indignant and remained away from church. A meeting was called and the assistant rector remarked that the white members would be glad if the Negroes would withdraw, this they did do a few months later.

We may say the white churches have been pursuing a "penny-wise and a pound-foolish economy" toward the Negro. Southern whites would seem to show a greater interest in the religious and intellectual development of the Negroes in Africa than in those at home. The Northern whites seem far more interested in the Negroes in the South and in Africa than those around their own doors. In 1911, the white Presbyterians gave about three cents per member to evangelize and educate the Negro in the South. The Methodist gave less than five cents, and the Baptist gave $15,000 annually. While there are some twenty-six different boards carrying on missionary work among the Negroes, I think they are doing far less than they should be doing. Many Negro churches need to be guided and assisted by the brotherly hand of the white man, and many Negro preachers, so-called, need to be instructed in the best methods of church work. The Negro preachers and churches are in vital need of sane evangelism. They need to be taught the relationship between creed and practice. They need to be impressed with the necessity of living clean lives, both spiritually and physically, inside and out. *Mens sana in corpore sano* is fundamental in the development of the Negro. I feel that there is entirely too wide a separation between the white and colored ministers as well as between the laymen. I believe if the leaders of these two groups would discuss their mutual problems together both would be benefited and the religion of the Negro would be raised to a higher plane.

There are some hopeful signs, however, of greater Christian fellowship between the two races in the South. The Southern Baptist Convention, in 1914, pledged $50,000 toward the establishment of a Negro Baptist Theological Seminary at Memphis, Tennessee. This is little more than one cent per member for

every Baptist in the South. The Methodist Episcopal Church South has spent something like $23,000 for Negro education, church institute work and social settlement work the past year. The Presbyterians in the South are doing the best of any of the denominations. They have a paid secretary on Negro evangelism who gives his entire time to pushing this work. On the other hand, the question of a Negro bishop continues to agitate the Episcopal Church, and the disposition of their Negro member is a paramount question in the Methodist Church in the North.

Then, white and colored ministers are beginning more and more to speak out their sentiments regarding race relationship in public meetings. This year the Negro Baptists held their jubilee, celebrating the 50 years of colored Baptist church work in North Carolina. The Negroes in the South have a custom of inviting white men to speak to them in such celebrations. In keeping with this custom Governor Bickett, Rev. Dr. John E. White of South Carolina and Rev. Dr. W. N. Johnson were the prominent white men asked to take part in this celebration. Dr. White made the principal address and made a race speech. In his address he bade the Negro count it not all tribulation that he had been reared near his slave master and in contact with a great religious body. Governor Bickett and Dr. Johnson spoke briefly following Dr. White's address. The governor was introduced as a big man willing to be just to the colored man. Dr. Johnson reminded the colored people that social separateness is the solvent for the race trouble—"I don't want to eat with you and I certainly don't want to sleep with you," he said, "but I do want to work with you and help you." The colored people applauded it as if there had never been any trouble going on in Washington. At the Southern Baptists Convention which met this year in Atlanta, Georgia, the white people invited several colored Baptist to the platform. One of the Negroes was the Rev. Dr. P. J. Bryan, pastor of one of the largest colored churches in the South. Dr. Bryan said the Negroes are under obligation to the white people, while the white people owe much to the Negro. He declared that the Negroes regard the Southern white men as their best friends. "We are not disturbed by occasional outbreaks," he said, evidently having in mind the recent lynching in Vicksburg. "We have not lost our

heads nor shall we do so. We do not hate any men of any color. As manly men we will not, and as Christian men we cannot. I can speak for my colored brethren when I say we do not aspire to social equality or race amalgamation. We will stay out of your parlors if you will stay out of our kitchens. All we ask is that you protect us as we protected your wives and little ones when they and we were left alone."

Preachers and other public men are now no longer afraid to denounce lynchings and other crimes against Negroes. At Henderson, Kentucky, Rev. Dr. Bulgin and 2,000 white men and women denounced the lynching of a Negro near Memphis, Tennessee, May, 1917. The lynching had just occurred and this body denounced it and adopted resolutions to that effect. A few days later at Princetown, Kentucky, Evangelist Burke Culpepper of Memphis, Tennessee, in a sermon before a large audience, denounced mob law and strongly condemned the same lynchers at Memphis.

The mission schools for Negroes have probably done more for the uplift of the Negroes in the South than any other phase of the Christian work. Many of these mission schools have grown into colleges. The white religious denominations spend annually an average of about $1,150,000 for Negro education in the South. Of this amount, probably $300,000 or more is contributed by the Negroes themselves. From 1900 to 1910 it is probable that the white religious denominations spent for Negro development in the South, between ten and eleven millions of dollars. Religious education has worked wonders among the Negroes in the South. It develops strong manly and womanly characteristics and retards the progress of crime. The late Bishop Charles B. Galloway of the Methodist Church, said: "I believe it is perfectly safe to say that not a single case of criminal assault has ever been charged against a student of a mission school for Negroes founded and sustained by a great Christian denomination. This is no question for small politicians, but for broad patriotic statesmen. It is not for non-resident theorists, but for the clear-visioned humanitarians. All our dealings with these people should be in the spirit of the Man of Galilee."

The Baptist and Methodist denominations are about the only ones that have succeeded in reaping an abundant harvest of

Negro Christians. The Negro seems to prefer these denominations, because they are freer and give a broad field to religious expression. It is said that the Negro is the only natural Baptist and it seems to be true when one looks at the large number of members which this denomination has enrolled. Seventeen of the twenty-five Negro churches in Greater Boston and forty-two of the eighty-one in Louisville are Baptist churches. The Negroes say they have more liberty in that church. The different Methodist churches have also been able to enroll large numbers of Negroes. But these denominations as well as others have not put forth the effort that they should. They have let race prejudice enter in and mar their work and hinder it in many respects. It is my deliberate judgment that the Christian Church of the United States, in her dealing with the Negro, stands before the world convicted of a degree of prejudice, cowardice, and inhumanity for which no consideration of her great achievement in other fields can ever atone.

*The News and Observer* of Raleigh, North Carolina, February 20, 1906, quoted the Germantown, Pennsylvania, *Guide* as calling on the people to provide a cemetery where Negroes may be buried, saying that "unless something is done, the bodies of the colored poor will be denied the right of decent burial or their disposition, of necessity, will be by means of the dissecting room of anatomical boards."

In March, 1915, the United States Supreme Court dismissed, on the ground that the court was without jurisdiction, a suit brought up to it by a Negro of Chicago, to compel the Forest Home Cemetery of that city to permit him to bury his wife in that cemetery in a lot which he owned and in which his two children had been previously buried. Between the time of the burial of his two children and the death of his wife the controllers of the cemetery had passed rules excluding Negroes from burial in it.

2. The Young Men's Christian Association has had to meet the color problem, and we find it drawing the color line. In the Northern cities this color line is being drawn as tight as in any city in the South.

A few years ago the white Y. M. C. A. in New Haven, Connecticut, decided not to allow Negroes to attend it, so a separate

building had to be provided for the Negroes. Some years ago the colored young men of the suburb of Cincinnati organized a Y. M. C. A. The white Y. M. C. A. objected to this and had the colored organization change its name to the Y. B. (oys) C. A. Not many years ago a movement was made to organize a separate Y. M. C. A. for the Negroes in Boston.

I know of no Northern city where the Negroes can go into the Y. M. C. A. or Y. W. C. A. and share the benefits with the white people. But separate institutions have been established or are being established in every Northern city with a considerable Negro population. This would indicate that race prejudice is increasing in the North, and that there is an increased desire for separation, and this among the best people—the Christian people.

## CHAPTER VIII

### GENERAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In a certain important sense all racial problems are distinctly problems of racial distribution. And the adjustment of the white and Negro element in the population varies from place to place. The chief factor determining the variance of adjustment is not latitude nor longitude, but the proportion of Negroes in the population. The Negro population has been increasing in all the Northern cities very rapidly for the last few years. It has probably increased more rapidly for the last five years than ever before in our history. Before the World War it was estimated that something like one million Negroes lived in the North; it is now estimated that something like two million live there. If the estimates are true, about one million Negroes have migrated North since the World War broke out. The scarcity of labor in the North due to the War, and the destructive floods and ravages of the boll weevil in the South, are given as the principle causes of the wholesale exodus.

When Negroes begin to increase in a Northern town or city race prejudice increases on a proportionate scale, and this increase in the Northern cities is calling forth far sharper expressions of race prejudice than was expected a few years ago. This will continue until social adjustment takes place. It may call forth "Jim Crow" cars, or segregation by law; the driving out of the Negroes in counties and towns, as has already taken place; or more complete separation in schools, as in Chicago; or some other method of expressing race prejudice.

There is scarcely a State in the United States where legislative or judicial records do not reveal the actual existence of some racial distinctions. Of the twenty-nine States that prohibit Negro-white intermarriage, half of them are outside the South. Negroes on account of their race have been excluded, usually contrary to the State laws, from hotels in Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin and

Iowa; from barbershops in Connecticut and Nebraska; from boot-black stands in New York; from pool-rooms in Massachusetts; from saloons in Ohio and Minnesota; from soda fountains in Illinois; from theatres in New York and Illinois; from skating-rinks in New York and Iowa; and the bodies of Negroes have been refused burial with those of white people in Pennsylvania and Illinois. I do not mean here that Negroes are always excluded from such places, but that instances of such exclusions are found in the records.

Civil Rights for whites and Negroes in the North are the same technically, but actual discriminations are just as numerous as in any Southern States. In the North the Negro is urged to rise but he is bound in chains. He is kept out of the white man's hotel, restaurant, theatre, soda fountains, civilization. He is ordered to segregate himself, urged to build up a little African civilization within our big civilization. Yet he is barred from the labor unions and is compelled to make his living by odd jobs, domestic service, working as janitor, waiter, servitor. He is given no opportunity in the economic conflict to gain the money with which to build up that civilization. In every city he is forced to live in the most undesirable section.

The Negro is admitted occasionally to some places of public accommodation, but he understands that while there he must stand waiting with hat in hand, or enter some place fixed apart. Seldom either publicly or privately can he sit at the table with white people. If he attends the white man's church he is assigned a pew where he has plenty of elbow room, usually so much room that he feels uncomfortable. He understands that he has no cup at the communion table, no vote in the councils of the laity and no place in the Y. M. C. A. Sometimes he is permitted to be sexton, bell-ringer, or organ-blower. "In the theatre and the circus, the camp-meeting and the court-room, the hospital and the prison, the cemetery and the potter's field, his place is his alone, and is readily located. Whether he goes or stays, works or worships, plays or suffers, lives or dies, the lines are drawn sharply around and about him, and there is no transgressing them—from his side." He has nothing resembling equality with the white man in social life or in industrial life.

Whites and Negroes never have and do not to-day associate

together as one people in public or in private. They never form a society anywhere, but remain a mere juxtaposition of separate units. Social equality in the North as well as in the South is a myth. It was not in the South that Du Bois was made to feel that he "was different from others," but in a school way up in the New England hills, when a white girl refused his card. It was not in the South that the author of *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Men* was told by his teacher to sit down with the Negroes, and thus crushed his pride for life, but in a school in the New England States. It was not in the South, but in Exeter, New Hampshire, that Booker T. Washington, Jr., left Philips Exeter suddenly because he felt that he was discriminated against on account of his color. No, the color line is everywhere. It is in the churches. It is in society. It is in politics. It is in the economic conflict, and no race knows it better than the Negroes. There used to be a sentiment among Northern whites to wipe it out, but that day is past. The two races have never been able to live together on terms of absolute equality and whoever believes this will soon be reversed is a dreamer. "The Great Teacher never preached the flat equality of men, social or otherwise. He gave mankind a working principle by means of which, being so different, some white, some black, some yellow, some old, some young, some men, some women, some accomplished, some stupid—mankind could, after all, live together in harmony and develop itself to the utmost possibility. And that principle was the Golden Rule. It is the least sentimental, the most profound practical teaching known to men."[29]

Can any one say the Negro has made no progress? No, we could as well say America has made no progress. Hardly a generation has passed since the common sneer rang in American's ears: "Who reads an American book?" Genius has no age, country, or race; it belongs to mankind. Who cares to-day whether Sir Isaac Newton, or Watts or Fulton was white, red, brown, or black?

In 1863 there were about five million persons of Negro descent in the United States. Of these, four million and more were just being released from slavery. Ninety per cent. were totally

[29] *Following the Color Line,* p. 307.

illiterate and only one adult in six was a nominal Christian. Their total wealth in this country was about $20,000,000. Ninety-five per cent. of them in the South were penniless and landless.

In 1913, fifty years later, there were ten and a quarter million persons of Negro descent in the United States. In 1910 they owned nearly 20,000,000 acres of land. Their total property in 1910 was estimated at $300,000,000. To-day it is said to be more than $800,000,000. In 1910 they had 5,192,535 bread-winners, 69,471 in personal service. Negro ownership of Southern lands increased one hundred and fifty per cent. between 1900 and 1910. During the same period of time the value of their farm property increased 177 per cent.; domestic animals, 107 per cent.; implements and machinery 98 per cent.; total land and buildings increased 293 per cent.; and their poultry, 35 per cent. Negroes have nearly 40,000 churches, edifices worth at least $75,000,000. They control over 4,000,000 members and raise themselves $7,500,000. They contribute over $200,000 each year for home mission work, and over $100,000 to foreign mission work. They have 500 higher institutions of learning. Twenty millions are invested in these schools, and over $13,000,-000 is necessary for their upkeep. Between 1900 and 1910 iliteracy among Negroes ten years old and older was reduced from 57.1 per cent. to 39.4 per cent. To-day 70 per cent, are said to be literate. Between 1900 and 1910 the death rate was decreased from 29.4 per cent. to 25.5 per cent. They raise $5,-000,000 a year by secret and beneficial societies and hold $6,000,-000 in real estate. They have 100 old folks' homes and orphan-ages, 30 hospitals, and 500 cemeteries, practically all supported by them. They have 22,000 small retail establishments, several large wholesale establishments, and 48 banks capitalized at about $1,600,000, which do an annual business of about $20,000,-000.

No other emancipated people has ever made such great progress in such short time. The Russian serfs were emancipated in 1861. Fifty years later 14,000,000 of them had accumulated about $500,000,000 worth of property, or about $36 per capita, an average of $200 per family. And about 30 per cent. were able to read and write. Fifty years after the emancipation of the

Negroes in the United States, it was found that they had accumulated over $700,000,000 worth of property, or about $70 per capita, an average of $350 per family, and 70 per cent. of them could read and write.

Monsieur Jean Finot, the able French writer, contends that: "Dans un délai de cinquante ans, ils ont réalisé les progrés qui ont nécessité pour maints peuples blancs de cinq à six siècles. De Jules César et Tacite jusqu'á Charlemagne, donc pendant huit siècles, l'Allemagne a réalisé moins de progrès que les Nègres américains dequis la guerre de Sécession"[30].

The average Negro is far worse off in the North than in the South. In the North he is so completely shut out from the more advantageous industrial opportunities. He cannot join a trade union; he suffers more in competition; he cannot teach except in a few Negro schools. A few criminals cause the whole race to be looked down upon and despised. The white man will not work by his side, he is forced to take lower wages, white people will not patronize his store, he is more liable to insults, his children are discriminated against in school and pelted with stones on the way home, and when a public meeting is called he does not know whether to go or not. No wonder he sings: "Hard trials—Great tribulations, Hard trials—I'm gwine for to live with the Lord!" And: "Swing low, sweet chariot, comin' for to carry me home!" A few of the older Northern people have preserved something of the war-time sentiment for the Negro. Occasionally one meets a low-class politician, and some charity workers that are interested in the Negro; but the people one ordinarily meets do not know or care anything about the Negro and do not discuss him. They have changed radically from their war-time policies. In the South, on the other hand, every one has a vital and vigorous opinion regarding the Negro—just mention the question and the discussion follows. In the South it is a vital, live, every-day problem, but in the North it has been a dead issue until only recently when it has gained momentum due to recent migration. The North used to love the Negro as a race, but despised him as an individual. The South has always liked the Negro as an individual, but feared him as a race. The North

[30] *Le Préjugé des Races*, pp. 498–499..

loved the Negro as a race because that race was at least 500 miles away; it counted him a brother because some one else had to do the brothering. The South has always liked the individual Negro and will do almost anything for him, but she used to fear him because he held the balance of power. To-day the North is having to do part of the brothering and she is resenting it in no uncertain terms. To-day the South has little to fear from the Negro either politically or economically. Some days ago I read an article from a political leader of South Carolina advocating that they now permit the Negro to vote on equal terms with the white man and do away with any law or force that prohibits the Negro from voting on equal terms with the whites.

In 1900 the Negroes formed 11.6 per cent. of the whole population in the United States, but in 1910 they formed only 10.7 per cent., decreasing 0.9 per cent. in ten years. In the same period of time the foreign born whites in this country increased 30.7 per cent. The native born whites increased 20.8 per cent. So it is obvious that the proportion of Negroes to whites would have decreased if there had been no immigration at all. The white leaders of the South have a knowledge of these facts brought out by the census of 1910, and have become convinced that they no longer need to live in dread of the rapid increase of the Negro race for the white race is increasing more rapidly.

The Southern white people realize that the old relationship, so often typified in the affection of the black mammy, is one that must pass. They also realize it is impossible to have no relationship, no responsibility and no coöperation. They realize that the two races must stand or fall together. There can be no progress apart, but together. They realize that neither crime, nor filth, nor disease draws any color line, and the sin of the immoral will injure the health of the strong, the judgment of the intelligent and learned will be influenced by the prejudices of the ignorant, and the lawlessness of the criminal will make a criminal out of the law abiding citizen. They now realize that the Negro is a great economic help to the South. In 1863 a slave was worth about $500. A Negro's economic value to the South is now over $2,500. Their total value as an asset to the South is said to be over ten billion dollars. The South now realizes she cannot get along without the Negroes. It is said that thousands of acres of

fertile land in the South have remained uncultivated for the last five years because of the migration of Negroes, and that the migration cost the South millions of dollars. These things are all helping to bring about better relationship between the races in the South, but there are also other forces at work.

The thing that is probably doing most to bring about better relationship between the two races in the South is the Southern Sociological Congress, organized in 1911. Each year a large group of the leaders of both races gather together and discuss their mutual problems. In these meetings nothing is done or said to suggest segregation, but everything which is desirable to be achieved by separation is emphasized in harmony with the best social and Christian principles. Nothing is done or said to cause the Negro to feel that he is less of a man and less entitled to respect because of the fact that he is a Negro. At each session and at each meeting of the session white women and white men and Negro women and Negro men gather together and speak from the same platform, a thing unheard of a few years ago. They realize that in all things that are purely social, they can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.

The Northern Border States seem to be the chief battling ground for race prejudice at present. One of the great surprises that I received when I began studying the race relationship in the Border States, was to find that the northern part of the Southern Border States has far less interest in the welfare of the Negro, is more antagonistic to his presence, and less willing to share work with him than the southern part of the same States. After an extended study of the race relationship I am convinced that there are far more opportunities for the Negro in the far Northern States than in the Northern Border States. He has opportunities there because there are few Negroes, but the moment new migrations begin, his condition becomes one of peril. I am equally sure that the North has (especially for the last few years) and is changing rapidly and becoming more hostile to the Negro every year. On the other hand the South is becoming more friendly to the Negro every year; it offers him greater opportunities, and is the best place for him in the United States. Both sections of country have changed their attitude

since the Civil War. Some fifty years ago the North freed the slaves in the South, but some fifty years later, I am wondering who is going to free the Negro industrial slaves of the North. The South, in all probability, will have to do it, and do it in a spirit of brotherly love rather than as formerly with powder and lead. "Thou shalt treat humanity"—it was Kant's great saying —"ever as an end, never as a means to thine own selfish end."

While the race problem is not solved by any means and will not be for many years to come, we have some great men working at its solution and we should be thankful indeed for the big-hearted, broad-minded Southern men who are working so hard to bring about better relationship. They are doing a great work. Voltaire tells us it is more difficult and more meritorious to wean men of their prejudice than it is to civilize the barbarian. The solution of the race problem, however, depends more upon the recognition of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man, and the application of the Golden Rule to the affairs of life than anything else. Jesus' law of brotherhood is universal in its working or it is no law at all. The Negro needs to learn the Ten Commandments and the white man the Golden Rule and how to apply them to their everyday relationship. Of course each community will have, in a measure, to adjust its own race problem. We can scarcely hasten the end of prejudice, only diminish it, but for the present, each race and each section should summon to its aid the virtue of patience and charity.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY


Adraans, J. H., Has a Negro the Right to Vote?
Archer, Wm., Through Afro-America.
Baker, R. S., Following the Colour Line.
Blascoer, Frances, Colored School Children in New York.
Bowen, Louis D., The Colored People of Chicago.
Brandt, Lillian, The Negroes in St. Louis.
Bracket, J. R., Notes on Progress of Colored People of Maryland.
Brawley, B. G., A Short History of the American Negro.
Brown, Wm. G., The New Politics.
Brown, W. H., The Crucial Race Question.
Cable, G. W., The Negro Question.
Cable, G. W., The Silent South.
Cashin, H. V., Under Fire with the Tenth United States Cavalry.
Commons, J. R., Races and Immigrants in America.
Cook, J. F., Old Kentucky.
Corrothers, J. D., In Spite of the Handicap.
Cromwell, J. W., The Negro in American History.
Crawford, Dan, Thinking Black.
Crossland, W. A., Industrial Conditions among Negroes in St. Louis.
Cutler, J. E., Lynch Law.
Daniels, John, In Freedom's Birthplace.
Douglass, H. P., Christian Reconstruction in the South.
Dowd, Jerome, The Negro Race.
Du Bois, W. E. B., The Souls of Black Folks.
Du Bois, W. E. B., The Negro.
Du Bois, W. E. B., The Negro Church.
Du Bois, W. E. B., The Philadelphia Negro.
Du Bois, W. E. B., Atlanta University Publications.
Du Bois, W. E. B., The Negro Problem.
Early, Jubae, The Heritage of the South.
Elwang, W. W., The Negro in Columbia, Missouri.
Epstein, Abraham, The Negro Migrant in Pittsburg.
Field, H. M., Bright Skies and Dark Shadows.
Fleming, Wm. H., Slavery and the Race problem in the South.
Freeman, Wm. A., The Devil Between the White Man and the Negro.
Finot, Jean, Le Préjugé des Races.
Hammond, Mrs. Lilly, In Black and White.
Hart, A. B., The Southern South.
Hartshorn, W. N., An Era of Progress and Promise.
Haygood, A. G., Pleas for Progress.
Helm, Mary, From Darkness to Light.
Helm, Mary, The Upward Path.
Holtzclaw, W. H., The Black Man's Burden.

Ingle, Edward, The Negro in the District of Columbia.
Jones, C. C., The Religious Instruction of the Negro.
Kletzing, H. F., etc., Progress of a Race.
Kelsey, Carl, The Negro Farmer.
McCord, C. H., The American Negro.
Mecklen, J. M., Democracy and Race Friction.
Melick, C. W., Some Phases of the Negro Question.
Merrian, G. S., The Negro and the Nation.
Miller, Kelly, Race Adjustment.
Miller, Kelly, Out of the House of Bondage.
Miller, J. I. D., A Guide Into the South.
Murphy, E. G., The Basis of Ascendency.
Morgan, T. J., The Negro in America.
Nassau, R. H., Fetichism in West Africa.
Ovington, Mary W., Half a Man.
Page, T. N., The Negro, the Southerner's Problem.
Pickens, Wm., The Heir of Slavery.
Price, J. A., The Negro, Past, Present, and Future.
Quillin, F. U., The Color Line in Ohio.
Riley, B. F., The White Man's Burden.
Schanz, Moritz, Der Neger in den Vereinigten Staaten.
Shufeldt, R. W., The Negro a Menace to American Civilization.
Shufeldt, R. W., America's Greatest Problem, the Negro.
Sinclair, Wm. A., The Aftermath of Slavery.
Smith, W. H., A Political History of Slavery.
Smith, Wm. R., The Color Line.
Stephenson, G. T., Race Distinctions in American Law.
Stone, A. H., Studies in American Race Problem.
Thomas, Wm. H., The American Negro.
Tillinghast, J. A., The Negro in Africa and America.
Tourgee, A, W., Appeal to Caesar.
Thrasher, Max B., Tuskegee.
Washington, B. T., The Future of the American Negro.
Washington, B. T. My Larger Education.
Washington, B. T., The Negro in Business.
Washington, B. T., The Negro in the South.
Washington, B. T., The Story of the Negro.
Washington, B. T., Working with Hands.
Washington, B. T., Tuskegee and its People.
Washington, B. T., Up from Slavery.
Weatherford, W. D., Negro Life in the South.
Weatherford, W. D., Present Forces in Negro Progerss.
Williams, Geo. W., History of the Negro Race in America.
Woodson, C. G., A Century of Negro Migration.
Wright, R. R. Jr., The Negro in Pennsylvania.
Armstrong Association, Publications.
Atlanta University Publications.

Census Reports of the United States, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910.
Charities.
Christ and the Negro.
John Hopkins University, Publications.
Men and Religion, Messages.
Methodist Episcopal Church Report, 1916.
The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man.
The Human Way.
The New Voice in Race Adjustment.
Negro Year Book, 1916–1917, 1917–1918.
Who's Who of the Colored Race? 1915–1916.
I also used various other reports, periodical literature, newspapers, etc.

15. STAFF, CAROLE 4265.620

Boston Public Library
Central Library, Copley Square

Division of
Reference and Research Services

The Date Due Card in the pocket indicates the date on or before which this book should be returned to the Library.

Please do not remove cards from this pocket.

MAR 29 1923